

A COMPLETE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

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MANUFACTURED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

FOREWORD TO THE REVISED EDITION

The world of 1936, when this history of the United States was first written, was a world composed of nations and empires, already lining up for a struggle to the death between the united fascist dictators, and the forces that stand for ultimate freedom of the individual. A decade later, the fascist powers have vanished, or are being rendered increasingly impotent; while the nations and empires are conjoined into a United Nations, a world-girdling super-nation which is maturing and strengthening toward a fit world government.

The American invention and development of man's most destructive weapon, the appalling atom bomb, was the final crushing proof that warfare, with modern scientific methods, must lead to the wreckage of our entire culture, and possibly to complete race suicide. The United Nations has gained prestige from the widening recognition that it is the sole human weapon that can prevent these results, by the effective outlawing of warfare from the globe. This all-important effort was strongly buttressed by the result of the Nuernberg trials, in which the German Nazi leaders were hung like ordinary criminals for making aggressive warfare, and outraging the law of nations in prosecuting it.

Our history, as written in these pages, and as it is still to be written by you and other Americans, is the most important thing happening to mankind today. In essence, Americanism is the maximum liberty of the individual, with only such collective controls as make the welfare of the individual the greatest. This American Way is being offered to the world as the world way. Your duty to yourself, to the United States, to mankind, is to know fully how we have arrived at this focal position; and to aid in guiding us and mankind toward the

possible splendors of a future world dwelling in peace, with the highest possible development of the individual and the human race. May this book strengthen your soul and your sinews toward that end.

The history of the United States is the greatest Success Story that mankind has ever known. It has brought into the realms of reality the most universal and beloved of all folk-myths, the Cinderella story, the Ugly Duckling story. Only, the fledgeling union of thirteen tiny colonies has altered into the American eagle, the king of birds, who circles the globe as the albatross endlessly circles the Pole; not for prey, but to implement into reality that dream that dawned among the Judean hills, "On earth peace, good will to men." This book is the autobiography of that success. You are already a part of it, and will become more so. Make these ringing American words the motto of the reborn and united world: "*Liberty and union, now and forever, one and inseparable!*"

CLEMENT WOOD

Bozenkill,
Delanson, N. Y.,
1947

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PART I

THE THIRTEEN COLONIES

CHAPTER I

THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA

AMERICA BEFORE 1492

WE ARE living in the Machine Age, the climax of the age of Iron and Steel that came after man's earlier Age of Stone and Age of Bronze. Our country, the United States of America, has made, and is making, the world's chief contribution to machine civilization. It has one-third of the whole world's roads—an almost incredible figure, for a country occupying less than one half of only one of the world's six continents. It has five times the railroad mileage of any other country, and almost three times as many automobiles as all the rest of the world put together. It has more than half of the world's telephones. It has six times as many radio stations and receiving sets as any other country. It has almost three times the developed water power of any country. It produces three times as much iron and steel as any other country, and five times as much crude petroleum. It actually has more acres under cultivation than any country in the world; immeasurably more farm machinery; and it leads in sugar production, the exporting of wheat, and in the all-important meat industry. It has double its share of the world's exports, and one and one-half times its share of the world's imports.

Three hundred and thirty years ago, it was a virgin wilderness, peopled only by savage Indians, who had not advanced beyond primitive agriculture. A development like this, in such a brief time in the centuries of recorded history,

calls for more than pride. It calls for an intelligent understanding of what vast earth-shaking movements planted a European culture on our shores, and fostered the astounding growth into the present American culture.

The origin of the American Indians is historically obscure. Their nearest land contact is with Asia, at Bering Straits. Here a canoe in summer, or an overland trek when the Straits are frozen, permits an easy migration. It is known that the islands of Polynesia and Oceania were settled by Mongoloid peoples in recent prehistoric times, by means of sea-going canoes. There are carvings of elephants and other Asiatic objects not found in America discovered among the pre-Columbian Inca and Mayan-Aztec ruins. The Eskimos and other northerly tribes hardly differ from their Asiatic neighbors. Until contradictory evidence is discovered, the presumption is that the American Indians migrated from Asia, during recent prehistoric times.

Just before the first voyage of Columbus, the Indians had risen to civilization in at least two places—among the Incas of South American Peru, and in the region including parts of Central America, Yucatan, and the highlands of Mexico around Mexico City. They had developed architecture to a high plane; had an accurate solar calendar; had an intricate tribal organization; and lacked only the invention of the wheel, to be as advanced as similar cultures in the Old World.

North of the Rio Grande, which separates the United States from Mexico, as in the West Indies and the remaining portions of South America, the Indians at best were in the stage of culture called lower barbarism—a stage in which crude pottery is made, and crude farming methods followed. The lack of animals suitable for domestication in the two Americas (only the llama and alpaca of Peru being ever thoroughly domesticated) had caused them to move

sluggishly from the hunting stage to the farming stage, without the intermediate herding stage so familiar in the Old World.

They were called Indians by Columbus, in the mistaken notion that he had reached the East Indies, the Spice Islands south of Asia; and the name stuck. In general, they were scantily clad and copper-colored, with high cheek bones and straight black hair. In place of the elaborate pueblos, or communal houses, made of clay, housing a thousand persons, which the Spaniards found in Mexico, the Indians of the great plains had not progressed beyond the tepee, a skin tent accommodating only one family. The village Indians from Florida to Canada had "long houses" or "round houses," built of stout saplings, covered with bark or a rough mud plaster, which accommodated as many as fifty families. Only clothing, ornaments, and weapons were regarded as private property; the food supply, or corn, beans, squash or pumpkin, and wild game were owned in common. The squaws or women prepared the food, tended their young, made the tools and utensils, made the clothes and ornaments, and strung the polished shells or wampum used for money. The men were the hunters, farmers, fighters, and councillors. In leisure moments, or as they grew old, they were the weapon-makers and the canoe-makers.

There were never more than a few hundred thousand Indians in America north of the Rio Grande. Some tribes have been practically exterminated, and others, especially those on reservations, have increased greatly. The present figure, about 330,000, is probably almost half as large as the population was at any time. The Indian was as a rule taciturn or stoical at the council or when under the torture; but he gave full rein to his frantic passions in his wild tribal dances and wilder warfare. He was usually friendly to the whites, until greed, cruelty and treachery turned him into

the murderous figure familiar in early chronicles of Indian warfare.

Civilizations grow by contact; and America was not ideally located for this purpose. It lacked the isolation of Australia, where the natives remained almost as backward as the marsupial kangaroos. It lacked also the meeting-place of Syria, where Europe, Asia and Africa touched, and where civilizations woke at the contact. Without the white discovery, civilization such as we know it might have come to the Americas; but its coming would have been greatly delayed. There was not even a contact between Mexico and Peru. The inhabitants of America were inevitably retarded by the geography of their continents.

THE SPANISH AND THE PORTUGUESE

There are many legends of discoveries of America by Europeans before Columbus. The best authenticated of these is of the discovery of a region called Vinland or Vineland, in North America, by Leif Ericsson, a Scandinavian sailing from Iceland about 1000 A. D. On a voyage to Greenland, he was driven out of his course, and either visited or wintered on North America—at a spot variously located as Rhode Island and Nova Scotia. But this discovery, if it was authentic, was sterile, for the contact was not kept up.

It is hard for us to realize that America was discovered by Columbus, in the search primarily for an easy route to the Spice Islands south of Asia. Spice was a necessity to the East, to render tasteless starchy dishes palatable. The West used it chiefly to preserve meats, along with salt, in an age before refrigeration was known. Spice, jewels, silks, and the other easily transportable and valuable products of the East, came overland into Europe, through Constantinople, before 1453; and earlier Mohammedans encouraged the trade, and grew rich from it. But in 1453 the fierce Otto-

man Turks captured Constantinople, and stopped the overland trade entirely. The Europeans, who had for a long time leaned toward the idea that the world was round, and that you could reach the East by sailing west, now found it necessary to discover a new route to the fabulous regions of the East. Two methods were tried—rounding the Cape of Good Hope and Africa, by the Portuguese; and sailing due west across the unknown Atlantic, by the Spaniards.

These voyages were impracticable, until the perfecting of the mariner's compass—an invention by which the action of that great magnet, the earth, upon a freely-suspended needle, is used to indicate directions. This device, far more accurate than relying upon the sun and the pole star, was invented crudely in Europe in the early 13th century. By the middle of the century, it was in use as far north as Norway. The later beliefs that the compass was invented in 1302 by one Flavio Gioja, of Amalfi, Italy, or was brought back from China by Marco Polo in 1295, yield before the simpler fact that the compass was known in Europe before either date.

The Portuguese, equipped with the compass, as early as 1445 had ventured southwestward down the coast of Africa, as far as Cape Verde, the most westerly point. The great Prince Henry the Navigator of Portugal died in 1460; but his influence continued in his successor, John II, who sent out Bartholomeu Diaz in 1486 to seek the spice riches by this southwest route; and Diaz sailed far enough to discover the Cape of Good Hope, the southernmost tip of the Dark Continent. Twelve years later, John's successor, spurred by knowledge of the discoveries of Columbus, fitted out a vast expedition under command of Vasco da Gama, who arrived at Calicut on the Malabar coast of India in 1498, and set up there a marble pillar as a proof of discovery and conquest. On his return, another fleet of thirteen ships was sent out for India under Pedro Alvares

Cabral. But they sailed too far west, and by accident discovered Brazil, before proceeding on to India around the African cape. The year before, Vicente Yanez Pinon, a companion of Columbus, had taken possession of the land in the name of the Spanish government; but it was the Portuguese who made the first colonization here, acting under the Papal Line of Demarcation announced by the Borgia Pope, Alexander VI, which divided the newly discovered lands between Spain and Portugal.

Spain's share in the discovery was almost accidental. Christopher Columbus, a native of Genoa in Italy, an excellent navigator and a well-read man, believed so firmly, from his reading and meditations, that the earth was round, and that the East could be reached by sailing westward, that he determined to be the first European to make the hazardous attempt to prove his belief. The once great Italian maritime cities had lost their wealth and power; the center of sea-going importance had shifted westward, to the two nations on the Iberian peninsula which bordered the restless Atlantic. Accordingly, Columbus took himself first to the court of Portugal, and sought to interest the monarch there in his plan for westward sailing. But Portugal was expending all its energies in seeking the southwestward route; and it turned a deaf ear to the frantic insistence of the courageous Genoese navigator.

But Columbus was not made of the stuff of men who fail. He went to the Spanish court, elated in that fateful 1492 because its forces had just expelled the Mohammedan Moors from Granada, their last foothold in western Europe. The Spanish monarchs, Ferdinand and Isabella, were just engaged, under the direction of the Spanish Inquisition or Holy Office led by the zealot Torquemada, in ridding the land of the wealthy Jews and Jewish converts to Christianity who had become so powerful in the country. Columbus won at least the ear of the queen, who pledged her

jewels to purchase the tiny fleet of three ships, the *Santa Maria*, the *Niña*, the *Pinta*, which set sail from the tiny harbor of Palos on the morning of Friday, August 3, 1492.

The crew of the whole fleet numbered only eighty-eight souls. The *Pinta* lost her rudder. Three Portuguese caravels hovered nearby, to seek to intercept them. A huge meteor fell into the sea dangerously close. They had to fight through that rip of floating seaweed called the Sargasso Sea. The crew were afraid of unspeakable monsters of the deep, and more of sailing over the rim of the earth, to drop into nothingness. The cry of land was raised falsely twice. The sailors were on the point of mutiny. And then, at ten o'clock on the night of October 11th, Columbus himself saw and pointed out a light ahead; and at two o'clock of the next morning Rodrigo de Triana, a sailor on board the *Niña*, announced the appearance of what proved to be the New World.

The land sighted was an island, called by the natives Guanahani, and named by Columbus San Salvador. It is generally identified today with Watling Island, in the Bahamas, only two hundred and fifty miles from Florida. That morning Columbus landed, clad in his richest robes, and solemnly gave thanks to God, and took possession in the name of the Spanish monarchs. Cuba, Hispaniola (San Domingo or Haiti) and several minor islands were discovered on this first trip; and a colony was established on Hispaniola, where the *Santa Maria* went ashore, and had to be abandoned.

Columbus sailed back to Spain in the tiny *Niña*, and presented himself before the king, bearing the products of the New World—the gold, the cotton, the parrots, the curious weapons, the strange plants and birds and beasts, the peaceful Indians he had brought with him for baptism. Columbus was made a grandee of Spain, and was allowed to ride at the king's bridle. The pope granted to Spain all

lands west of an imaginary line three hundred and seventy leagues west of the Azores. And a new fleet was prepared for the successful Genoese admiral.

On his second expedition, which set sail in September, 1493, with seventeen ships, fifteen hundred men, animals and materials for colonization, and twelve missionaries, Dominica was first discovered, on November 3rd. Guadalupe, Antigua, the Virgin Islands, Puerto Rico, were sighted and named, and Hispaniola was finally reached. Jamaica was discovered. Columbus sickened for months, from his efforts; at the end, he sent five shiploads of Indians back to Spain to be sold as slaves, and soon followed himself.

In 1498, his third expedition set out. Trinidad and South America were discovered. But discontent was rife, in the Americas as in Spain. A new governor was sent out, who jailed Columbus and his two brothers, and shipped them in irons to Spain. A wave of popular indignation against this treatment shook Spain, and the aging admiral was restored to his honors again. In 1502, he set sail on his fourth voyage of discovery, seeking a strait through which he might penetrate westward to Portuguese Asia; for by now it was clearly realized that this was a New World, and not the desired Spice Islands. On this trip, he reached the coast of Honduras, in Central America. But he did not find what he sought, and ultimately returned to Spain, to die in 1506.

Before the third voyage of Columbus, in 1497, an Italian named John Cabot, sailing under the English flag, reached the mainland of North America, and planted somewhere in Labrador the English banner. In 1501 Amerigo Vespucci, a Florentine sailing for Portugal, explored Brazil and other parts of South America; and the twin continents, the Americas, were named for him, rather than for the original explorer. Between 1519 and 1522 the Portuguese Ferdinand Magellan, sailing for Spain, rounded Cape Horn, at the tip of South America, determined to circumnavigate the

globe. He was killed in the Philippines; but his seaworthy *Victoria* pressed onward on its westward voyage, and finally arrived in Lisbon.

By 1508 the Spaniards, with Hispaniola or Haiti as a base, had conquered and colonized Puerto Rico and Cuba. In 1513, Balboa reached the Isthmus of Panama and discovered the Pacific Ocean. That same year Ponce de Leon, seeking the fountain of eternal youth, traversed much of Florida. In 1519 one of the ruthless conquistadores, Hernando Cortez, took and sacked the Aztec kingdom of the Emperor Montezuma, in Mexico, with vast loss of life and deplorable destruction of ancient temples and records. Ten years later, Cabeza de Vaca made his way from Texas and Mexico to the Gulf of California. At the same time, the conquistador Pizarro overran the gentle civilization of the Incas in Peru, and added its silver mines to the Spanish wealth. From 1539 to 1542, Hernando de Soto traveled the eastern territory bordering on the Gulf of Mexico, leaving his fever-stricken body beneath the waters of the Mississippi. At the same time Coronado wandered northward, seeking the fabled seven golden cities of Cibola.

In 1524, the Italian Verrazano, sailing for France, charted the north Atlantic coast of North America. In 1535, Jacques Cartier sailed up the St. Lawrence River, to the site of the Indian village where Montreal stands today. The partition of the Americas had gotten well under way.

THE CONQUEST OF TROPICAL AMERICA

The best recent estimate of the number of Indians in the territory that is now the United States, in 1492, places the number as in the neighborhood of 900,000. More than a third of these still survive. But this impressive figure does not begin to measure the survival of the Indians in the Americas. In Mexico, with a population of around 16,000,000, the number of Indians is given as 4,620,880; and that

of Mestizos, with part Indian blood, at 9,040,590 more. There are a million and a half Indians in Bolivia, of unmixed stock only; over a million in Ecuador; and millions more in Peru, Brazil, and the rest of Central and South America.

The conquest of the Americas was inevitable. There was no union among the natives, and no union possible, due to the appalling differences in culture between Incas and Aztecs on the one hand, and Caribs and Digger Indians on the other. Bartolome de Las Casas, the noble Spanish missionary to the Indians, did his best to secure fair treatment for them. But the object of the European nations was wealth, both in gold and slaves; and the idealist's vision was submerged under a flood of conquest.

The Spaniards were Christians, orthodox Roman Catholics, with recent memories of the Inquisition, and the expulsion of the Moors and the Jews. To them, the Indians were pagans, who worshipped idols with, at times, human sacrifices. The Indians, at first, offered small resistance. Those on the islands especially were unused to labor or effort; the abundance furnished by the warm climate was all they needed. They were at best in little villages, instead of organized into great empires, as in Peru and Mexico. European diseases decimated them, and slaughter; but most punishing of all were the deaths from enforced labor. The Spanish historian Gomara wrote, in 1533, that there was not a single Indian left alive in Cuba. It is certain that more than 20,000 natives were wiped out there. In four months, seven thousand children died there of hunger.

The killing of any of the Spaniards served only to infuriate them the more. In retaliation for Spaniards dying in agony of arrow wounds, or sacrificed, as in Mexico, on the temple terraces in view of besieged Spanish troops, the Spaniards devised unusual deaths. In San Domingo the captives were wrapped in straw and roasted at a slow fire.

In Cuba the chieftains were burned at the stake, after their wives had first been punished by the soldiers. Francisco de Montejo, Spanish governor of Yucatan, seized native children to feed to his dogs. The governor of Rio de la Plata executed in one day, as an object lesson, five thousand Indian captives. Las Casas reported that more than 20,000,000 Indians were slain by the Spaniards.

The helplessness of the natives was augmented by their veneration of the Spaniards as creatures almost supernatural. For these fierce people were invulnerable to arrows, thanks to their coats of mail; they had rods that spoke with the voice of thunder and dealt the lightning's death; they came half-man half-beast, many-legged and terrible—for the Indians had never seen a horse before, much less a man riding a horse. The natives believed these mailed centaurs were supernatural. When the first horse was killed, Montezuma had its head cut off and exhibited in all his cities, to prove to his people that a horse could die.

More dreadful were the Spanish dogs. The Indians knew only small plump little beasts, that did not bark, and were used for food. The Spaniards had trained their great ferocious dogs for warfare. The discharge of a thunder-voiced gun would put a native army to flight; and as they fled in disorder, the Spaniards would unloose their dogs on them. A Spaniard accompanied by one of these huge dogs was safer than if accompanied by a hundred men. As they marched into the sparsely populated interior, the Spaniards drove along with them Indians to be fed to the dogs.

The Indians regarded life under the Spaniards as not worth living. Whole villages committed suicide, to the last man, woman, and child, as the Spaniards marched near, rather than meet the fate other villages had encountered. Indians killed their families before committing suicide, to save them from Spanish enslavement. The enslaved Indians were driven in thousands to labor in distant silver and gold

mines. More than ten thousand died in the train of one captain, on a single journey. Six thousand slaves left Quito, in Ecuador, to cross the "hot lands" to a distant mine. Only twenty survived the trip.

The Spanish court did its best to prevent such deaths. But it was too far away; and the captains were not forgiven, if they did not return with the expected amount of treasure. And so the men were put at the mines, and the women to till the fields. They were fed on bread made of root meal, and nothing else. Babies found no milk to nurse, and men and women died of the diet. When San Domingo had been depopulated, forty thousand Indians were brought in from the Bahamas to continue the work. When these died off, Negro slaves were brought in from Africa. Cuba was depopulated, the populations of Jamaica and Puerto Rico reduced from 600,000 to two hundred, 600,000 died as beasts of burden in Nicaragua, in Panama and Colombia whole cities were wiped out, to the last babe in arms, in Guatemala and Honduras conditions were as bad or worse.

Las Casas presented his *Abridged Account of the Destruction of the Indies* to the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire in 1542. But an isolated protest could not stem the conquest. The Spaniards were sure that they were on a sacred mission. These Indians were pagans. The Spaniards thought of temples soiled with spilt human blood, slaves fattened for eating, and other atrocity stories spread by earlier arrivals; and they continued in their course. So it was that tropical America was conquered.

The story to the northward was kindlier.



CHAPTER II

THE ENGLISH ARRIVE

VIRGINIA AND THE CAVALIERS

SIR WALTER RALEIGH, Queen Elizabeth's favorite after Leicester had fallen out of favor, and before the Earl of Essex rose in her esteem in 1587, in 1583 financed his half brother Sir Humphrey Gilbert's expedition to settle Newfoundland, on which the half-brother perished. Sir Walter succeeded to the patent. In 1584 he sent two captains to survey the North American coast from Florida upward. They went as far as the inlet between Albemarle and Pimlico Sounds, in what is now North Carolina, and returned with glowing reports of it. Raleigh named the vast vague territory Virginia, in honor of the virgin queen.

In 1585, he sent out a colony of a hundred and eight men under Ralph Lane, in a fleet of seven small vessels commanded by Sir Richard Grenville, hero of Tennyson's ballad *The Revenge*. They settled on Roanoke Island, in what is now North Carolina. Grenville left in a week. Nine and a half months later, on June 19, 1586, threatened with famine and with destruction at the hands of hostile Indians, the entire colony returned to England on Sir Francis Drake's fleet. A few days later, Grenville returned with supplies and more colonists. He left fifteen of these. Raleigh sent out another colony of one hundred and twenty-one persons, under John White. The colony had instructions to remove to Chesapeake Bay; the sailors refused to carry them beyond Roanoke Island, and here they stayed. White's grand-

daughter, Virginia Dare, born August 18, 1587, was the first English child born in America. Of the fifteen colonists left by Grenville, not one was found alive. White returned to England for supplies, was detained, and returned in 1591. He found no trace of the colonists, except the word "Croatan" carved on a tree. It was presumed that the colonists had gone away with friendly Indians, perhaps with the Hatteras tribe. In Robeson county is still found a group of people with Indian habits and occasional English names, calling themselves Croatans.

In 1606 Elizabeth's successor, James VI of Scotland, ruling as James I of England, chartered "certain loving subjects to deduce and conduct two several colonies or plantations of settlers to America." Although England claimed all North America, through Cabot's 1497 discovery, King James limited the territories, so as not to encroach on the Spanish settlements in Florida, or the French ones on the St. Lawrence. The "London Company," the first group, were to have the exclusive right to settle between 34 degrees and 38 degrees north latitude—that is, roughly between the latitudes of Wilmington, North Carolina, and Richmond, Virginia. The "Plymouth Company" was granted the broad region between 41 degrees and 45 degrees north latitude, or between just north of New York City and the most northerly point of Maine on the Atlantic coast. The neutral strip between was left open to both companies, with the provision that neither could make any settlement within one hundred miles of the other. The grants extended one hundred miles inland—parts of Carolina and Virginia being in the southern grant, and most of New England in the northern one.

The governments of the colonies were to be almost as complicated as the territorial grants, with a council of thirteen for each company in England appointed by the king and under his control. This English council was to appoint

another council of thirteen members, to reside in the colony, and, under the direction of a president, to manage its local affairs, subject to a veto from the English council, as it in turn was subject to the king's veto.

In May, 1607, about one hundred colonists, sent out by the London Company, reached Virginia, sailed up a broad river, and started a settlement on a low river-girdled peninsula. River and settlement were named the James and Jamestown, in honor of the king. The colony had hard sledding, at first, what with fever and malaria, and the impossibility of referring matters to the distant English overlords. By royal decree, for five years the crops were to be gathered into a common storehouse and dispensed to the colonists. This caused the energetic to work, and the shiftless to explore the land for gold, or sail up the river looking for a passage to the East.

The superhuman efforts of Captain John Smith held them together. He secured corn from the Indians. His energy inspired the energetic and shamed the shiftless. His two accounts of the early days of the settlement are frank, and give full credit to himself and the better spirits in the colony. In the summer of 1609, a wound caused by exploding gunpowder sent him back to England. The winter that followed was a period of starvation. In October, there had been five hundred colonists; in June following, the number was reduced to sixty. These enfeebled survivors embarked on ships from Bermuda that touched at Jamestown, and had reached the mouth of the James, when they encountered the fleet of Lord de la Warre (for whom Delaware was later named), the new governor, with men, provisions and other supplies. The colonists returned to Jamestown, and the colony escaped the fate of Raleigh's ill-fated Roanoke attempts.

De la Warre brought a new charter, with a larger grant of land, as ambiguous as might be expected from gentlemen

in England with no knowledge of American geography. It granted—

land 200 miles north and south of Point Comfort, lying from the seacoast into the land from sea to sea, west and northwest.

If the northern boundary ran due west, and the southern northwest, they would meet at about Indianapolis—an inland triangle of land certainly not running “from sea to sea.” If the northern boundary ran northwest, it would reach the Arctic Ocean east of Alaska; and the territory granted, obviously “from sea to sea”, would include eighteen complete states, parts of twelve others, Alaska, and more than half of Canada. Virginia for a long time made the larger claim. Either grant was a principality, virgin forest as most of it was.

The government was altered too, with a large and rich English company ruling instead of the king, and sending out a governor. The colonists forgot their gold fever, and turned to agriculture and the beginnings of manufacture. Tobacco became the chief product, a culture borrowed from the Indians. Soap, glass, silk and wine were produced. A better class of emigrants came over. In 1619 the problem of wives was settled by the arrival of a shipload of “respectable maidens,” who were auctioned off to the bachelor planters for so many pounds of tobacco apiece. The cavaliers of Virginia were the result of these marriages. Goods were no longer held in common, and full ownership in lands was awarded.

That same year, the first cargo of Negro slaves, long known to Spanish America, arrived in Virginia. On July 30th of the same year, two citizens or burgesses from each plantation met with the governor and his six councillors in the little church at Jamestown, constituting the first representative government in America. This little legislature of twenty-seven members adjourned at last on the 4th of

August, "by reason of extreme heat both past and likely to ensue." At this time, there were already Spanish, French and Dutch settlements in North America; but democracy was practiced alone in the English one.

Sir Edwin Sandys, treasurer of the London Company, one of the "country party" in Parliament who were opposing the Stuart king's claim to the divine right of kingship, was the man responsible for this last step. The Spanish minister, Gondomar, whispered in the king's receptive ear that the meetings of the company had become "hotbeds of sedition." James tried to dictate the election of a new treasurer. The independent company retorted, by selecting one of the leaders of the country party, the Earl of Southampton, friend of Shakespeare's.

The king's hour came, after a dreadful Indian massacre in 1622, and a famine. James sent men over to govern Virginia, who were responsible only to the king's Privy Council. Thus in 1624 Virginia became a royal province, and remained so until the American Revolution.

The king had intended to suppress the Burgesses, also. But he died before he did this; and his son Charles I allowed the Burgesses to continue, in an endeavor to secure favor for a grant of the tobacco monopoly to the king. The government set the pattern for most of the later colonies, with a governor and a small council appointed by the English king, and a legislature or assembly elected by the people of the colonies. Of course, at this period the voting was limited to property-holders and men with other qualifications establishing their solidity as members of the community.

The Virginians remained loyal to the Stuarts thereafter. When the Civil War broke out, in 1642, and Charles I was removed from his throne and beheaded, many of his English supporters, the Cavaliers—opponents of the Puritans or "Roundheads", so called from their habit of cutting

short their curls—emigrated to Virginia, giving the colony a more aristocratic character than ever. On the restoration of the Stuarts in 1660, in the person of Charles II, the cavalier Burgesses recognized his authority with such alacrity and enthusiasm that the king called them “the best of his distant children”. He elevated Virginia to the proud position of a “dominion,” by quartering the arms of the colony—the seal of the Virginia Company—on his royal shield, with the arms of England, Scotland and Ireland. The Burgesses were very proud of this unique distinction, and, remembering that they were the first of the English colonies in America, as well as the most loyal, they adopted the name of “The Old Dominion” for the state, which is still used.

Matters between the king’s governors and councils, and the people, did not always run smoothly. There was only one dispute of major importance. In 1675, the Susquehannock Indians were harassing and ravaging the upper settlements of the colony, and the colonists called upon Governor William Berkeley to send a force of Virginia militia to suppress the redskin uprising. The governor was financially interested in the fur trade with the Indians, and refused to act against them. An “old and rotten” House of Burgesses, which he had kept in office for fourteen years subservient to his desires, backed him up in this refusal.

A popular young planter, Nathaniel Bacon, who had seen one of his overseers murdered in cold blood by the Indians, put himself at the head of three hundred volunteers, and demanded a commission from the governor. The governor refused. Bacon marched against the Indians without any commission, and utterly routed them. The colony was thus saved from the threat of tomahawk and firebrand, in savage redskin hands.

Berkeley proclaimed Bacon a rebel, and set a price on his head. Civil war followed, which is called Bacon’s Rebel-

lion. The governor was driven from Jamestown, and the capital was burned by the rebels. At the moment of victory, Bacon unaccountably died. There were explanations of fever, and suspicions of poison. At his death, his party, largely made up of his personal followers, fell to pieces. Berkeley returned, and punished the rebels until the alarmed Burgesses petitioned him to "spill no more blood." Even the king said mournfully that the governor had put more men to death for this little rebellion, than he himself had executed for the beheading of the king, his father.

The rebellion did more than suppress the Indian menace. The old and rotten assembly was dissolved, and the governor was recalled by the king. The people of Virginia, though faithful to the Stuarts, were not yet ready to submit tamely to despotic rule. They were to establish that still more definitely, a century later.

MASSACHUSETTS AND NEW ENGLAND

The Plymouth Company sent a colony out to its more northerly region in 1607, the very year that the London Company settled Jamestown. It endured one winter at the mouth of the Kennebec River, on the icy coast of Maine, and then its colonists gave up and returned to England. The moving spirit in this enterprise, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, governor of Plymouth, in 1614 sent over Captain John Smith to explore the coast of "northern Virginia," as the Plymouth grant was called. Smith mapped the coast from Cape Cod to Nova Scotia, calling it New England. Six years later, Gorges organized a number of courtiers into the Council for New England, and secured from the king a new grant of the territory to this group.

A few weeks after the formation of this new company, a group of one hundred men and women landed off Cape Cod, in Massachusetts, and proceeded to Plymouth. They were Independents or Separatists, who had left the Church

of England because, on its separation under Henry VIII from Roman Catholicism, it retained vestments, altars and ceremonies which this group regarded as idolatrous. James I had commenced his reign by announcing that his subjects would conform to the state religion, or be harried out of the land. He harried the Separatist congregations of some tiny villages in the east of England, until in 1608 they took refuge in Holland, the only country in Europe that preserved complete religious toleration.

But twelve years in this land of alien speech and customs made the Separatists determine that, rather than bring up their children in these alien ways, they would find a home in the wilderness, and carve out a community where they might worship their God according to their own consciences, without molestation from any one. The London Company, anxious to have more settlers in Virginia, and dominated by the anti-Jacobite country party, readily granted them permission to settle in Virginia. Their pilot through error brought them to the shores of Cape Cod, where they landed December 21, 1620, without a patent—*right to the soil*—nor a charter—*power to set up a government*. These were the Pilgrims, and their arrival marked the first colony actually established in the northern States.

Before landing, the Pilgrims assembled in the cabin of their little boat, the *Mayflower*, and pledged themselves to form a government, and obey it. This was the first instance of an agreement to abide by complete self-government in the history of the European settlement of the Americas. The first winter on the stern and rock-bound coast of New England was not easy for the Pilgrims. Bradford, their first governor and historian, wrote later—

It pleased God to vissite us with death dayly, and with so general a disease that the living were scarce able to burie the dead.

They discovered a store of buried Indian corn, which staved

off starvation. They made friends with an Indian, Squanto, who taught them how to plant the grains, and how to fertilize them by placing two dead fish in each hill of corn. They survived.

In the spring, the *Mayflower* returned to England. But not one of the colonists went with her. They had found a home, and they stuck. When the terrible Indian chief, King Philip, in 1675 assailed the New England colonists, and destroyed half of the towns erected by the Pilgrims, they took their part bravely in the defense of their new homeland. In 1691, after the Restoration of William of Orange, they were annexed unwillingly to the powerful neighboring colony of Massachusetts Bay, and their history thereafter is merged with it.

In 1628, the Council for New England, successor to the Plymouth Company, granted to a company of Puritan gentlemen permission to settle, and sufficient land for the purpose. The Puritans, unlike the Separatists, had decided to stay within the Church of England, although they were determined to "purify" it of Roman Catholic forms still retained in its services. In 1629, Charles I granted them a royal charter, constituting them a political body ruled by a governor, a deputy governor, and eighteen assistants, all selected by the members of the company. The next year, the company sent out nearly a thousand emigrants, who landed on the shores of Boston Harbor, and formed the Colony of Massachusetts Bay—the largest of the English settlements in America.

The settlers carried their charter with them to America, out of the reach of English royal power. John Winthrop, a cultured gentleman from the south of England, served almost continually as governor for the next twenty years; John Cotton, a scholar and a powerful preacher, presided over the spiritual life of the colony. In Massachusetts, they had found a place where their worship could be purified of

all they objected to; but they were opposed to freedom of worship. They would not admit as freemen—that is, citizens or participants in the government—any but members of their own church. They allowed others to live in the colony, as long as they did not resist the authorities, annoy the ministers, or bring discredit on the worship and the government; but even these had to contribute to the support of the church, and permit it to oversee their public and private life. Between 1630 and 1642, the growing arrogance of Charles I and the persecutions of Archbishop Laud of Canterbury drove several thousand additional refugees to the colony.

The large population relieved the settlers of immediate fear of minor attacks by the Indians. It permitted the government to sift out settlers sent over by Gorges and other claimants for the Massachusetts lands. It forced a representative form of government upon the colonists, since the number of colonists made any general meeting too unwieldy. In 1634, dissatisfied with government by their eighteen assistants, the towns demanded the right of sending their own elected representatives, to aid in law-making. In spite of liberal protests, voting was restricted to the freemen, the members of the Puritan congregations.

One of the first liberals driven from the colony was Roger Williams, pastor of a church in Salem. He taught that the land belonged to the Indians, and that the king of England could not give title to it. He taught that a government could not control a man's conscience, and that to force a man to take the oath of citizenship was an encouragement of lying and hypocrisy. In 1636, the government drove Williams out of the colony. He made his way through the wintry woods from Indian tribe to tribe, as far as Narragansett Bay. Purchasing a tract of land from the Indians here, he began a settlement which he named Providence, in gratitude for God's guidance to the spot.

Other dissenters from the Puritan strictness of Massachusetts settled three other towns on the mainland around the bay, and on Rhode Island. Williams secured recognition in 1643 from the English Parliament, which the year before had forced the king from London. The colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations from its inception had democracy and religious freedom. Paper ballots were introduced. Massachusetts, angered at the independence of this home of toleration, refused in 1643 to admit Rhode Island into the confederation of New England colonies. Not until it received, in 1663, a charter from the restored Stuart, Charles II, defining its boundaries and recognizing its democratic government, was it fully established.

In that same 1636 in which Roger Williams was driven out of the Puritan colony, its magistrates gave permission to

divers loving friends, neighbors and freemen of Newtown (Cambridge), Dorchester, Watertown and other places, to transport themselves and their estates unto the Ryver of Conecticott, there to reside and inhabit.

Reports that Connecticut was as fertile as the Promised Land had something to do with this exodus; and so did the extreme strictness of the Massachusetts "aristocracy of righteousness." Thomas Hooker, their pastor, led them through the wilderness between the Charles and the Connecticut, driving their cattle before them and carrying their household goods in wagons—the precursors of that vast westward migration which was to take two centuries to push to the Pacific Ocean.

The Connecticut settlers founded the towns of Hartford, Windsor and Wethersfield, and in 1639 adopted their "Fundamental Orders", the first constitution drawn up in America, and the first in modern history drawn up by the free founders of a state. Church membership was not re-

quired for voting, and the clergymen were not made the arbiters of everything. They did not get along too well with jealous Massachusetts or with the spreading Dutch colonies centered along the Hudson River; but they defended themselves, exterminating the dangerous Pequot Indians in 1637 and thereafter enjoying prosperity. Charles II granted them a charter in 1662, blandly extending their territory to the South Sea or Pacific Ocean—a grant which would have included parts of the present states of New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, Iowa, Nebraska, Wyoming, Idaho, Utah, Nevada, California, and Oregon.

Not all the emigrants from Massachusetts were liberal. John Davenport, a strict Puritan preacher, took his congregation from Boston to the shores of Long Island Sound, in 1638, and founded the settlement of New Haven. The colony soon expanded to several towns, and was even more theocratic or God-ruled than Massachusetts. The charter of 1662 to Connecticut included the New Haven settlements within its limits, much to their disgust. They protested for three years, but finally had to yield.

Massachusetts faced a more worldly rivalry to the north and east. Sir Ferdinando Gorges was a strict Church of England man, who was opposed to the whole Puritan movement. His 1639 royal charter made him proprietor of Maine; and he did his best to persuade anti-Puritan colonists to come to his colony and to neighboring New Hampshire, organized by his fellow churchman John Mason. Massachusetts claimed all this territory, by her 1629 charter. In 1641–1643 she took over the New Hampshire towns, and in 1677, after years of disputing, bought out the claims of the heirs of Gorges for twelve hundred and fifty pounds. The king was not pleased at this, and gave New Hampshire a separate royal charter in 1679. But Maine remained a part of Massachusetts until 1820.

Massachusetts was dominant in New England affairs. The New England Confederation, which she was instrumental in forming in 1643, included Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven. It was in theory a league of four equal states. But Massachusetts, with her preponderance in men and wealth, kept Rhode Island out of it; and on the matter of war in 1653 against the Dutch colony of New Netherland, her two votes vetoed the six other votes.

The gentle Winthrop was succeeded in 1649 by the harsh Puritan saint, John Endicott. Under his control, Quakers were hanged on Boston Common in 1660 for vehemently testifying to their "inner light" or individual divine revelations, which of course did not harmonize at all with a theocratic government by a church and its clergy. In 1692, nineteen persons, chiefly women, were hanged in Salem village for witchcraft, on evidence chiefly hysterical. This was a minor persecution, compared to European treatments of alleged witches; but it was a bit belated.

The conduct of the Massachusetts government did not endear it to the king. The colony banished members of the Church of England, coined its own money, issued legal forms without mention of the king's name, flouted his laws regulating trade, and otherwise acted in a spirit thoroughly independent. The king's commissioners, sent in 1664 to investigate these matters, were sneered at by a constable in a Boston tavern. A continuation of this conduct led to the revocation, in 1684, of the Massachusetts charter, by Charles II; and thereafter the colony was officially a royal province.

In 1689 the Stuart monarch, James II, united New York, New Jersey, and all New England into one province, to be ruled absolutely by his royal governor. His motive was both to break the spirit of New England, and to establish a solid bulwark against the danger of French and Indian

attacks from the north. The former motive predominated, since the Stuarts were in the main friendly to France. Sir Edmund Andros was sent over as governor. He tried to seize the charters of Rhode Island and Connecticut. Local patriots hid them. He dismissed the Massachusetts assembly, wiped out the colonial courts, and made himself judge and jury. He charged huge fees for governmental actions, censored the press strictly, and introduced the Episcopal worship in Puritan Boston. He denied speedy and fair trials to arrested colonists, and taxed their land without the consent of their deputies. And all these things were contrary to the immemorial rights of English subjects.

In April, 1689, the welcome news arrived that James II had been driven from the English throne, and that William of Orange was the ruler. Boston rose against Andros, jailed him, and sent him back to England. This Glorious Revolution in Boston in 1689 was merely a faint echo of the English glorious Revolution of 1688. But it indicated a readiness to rise in revolution, which was amply borne out eighty-six years later.

William of Orange granted a new charter to Massachusetts in 1691; while Connecticut and Rhode Island simply resumed government under their old charters, which continued unchanged as their state constitutions until well after 1800. The new charter for Massachusetts joined Plymouth and Maine with Massachusetts, under a royal governor, and guaranteed freedom of worship to all Protestant sects. The possession of property, and not church membership, was made the prerequisite to voting. Massachusetts accepted all this, and functioned under it until the American Revolution broke out.

CHAPTER III

THE OTHER COLONIES SETTLED

NEW YORK, NEW JERSEY, AND DELAWARE

NEW YORK BAY and the Hudson River had been discovered in 1524 by Giovanni da Verrazano, sailing under the French flag. During the next eighty-five years, French vessels occasionally sailed up the broad river, to trade with the Indians. In 1609 Samuel de Champlain, the French explorer who had founded Quebec the preceding year, marched south with a war party of Algonquins and Hurons, and discovered the great lake which bears his name. On its shores, near the site of Ticonderoga, his first volley of gunfire played an important part in the victory of his Indian allies over the Iroquois or Five (later, Six) Nations, consisting of Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas and Senecas. This alliance drove the powerful Iroquois to ally themselves with the Dutch, and, later, with the English, and played a shaping part in much of the bloody warfare that followed.

On September 3rd of that same 1609, Henry Hudson, an Englishman in the employ of the Dutch East India Company, entered New York Bay in his *Half Moon*, in search of the "northwest passage" to India. He recommended the establishment of a vast Dutch fur trade with the Iroquois; and the newly independent United Netherlands claimed the whole uncolonized strip between Virginia and New France, roughly between latitudes forty-one and forty-five degrees north. The New Netherland Company was established in 1614, with a three years monopoly of this fur trade. Late

in 1614, or early the next year, a stockaded trading post called Fort Nassau was erected on Castle Island, in what is now Albany, and a few huts were erected on the southern tip of Manhattan Island. In 1617, the Dutch made an alliance with the Iroquois, and moved Fort Nassau to the mouth of Tawasentha Creek. In 1621 the West India Company was chartered by the Dutch, for a term of twenty-four years, with a monopoly of the Dutch trade from Newfoundland to the southerly Straits of Magellan. New Netherland, the Hudson region, became an important interest of this company. In June, 1623, it was formally made a province; and in March, 1624, the first permanent colonizers, some thirty families, were sent over, under Cornelis Jacobsen Mey, first director of the colony. A few remained at Manhattan, another party established a temporary Fort Nassau on the Delaware River, another group settled where Hartford now is; but the majority settled Albany at Fort Orange, successor to Fort Nassau, at the mouth of Tawasentha Creek.

Peter Minuit, the first director general, arrived in 1626. Soon Manhattan Island was bought from the Indians, for the equivalent of twenty-four dollars in calico and beads. Fort Amsterdam was built at its lower tip, and this settlement was made the capital. Patroon estates were permitted after 1629, consisting of a strip of land sixteen miles long along seacoast or one side of a navigable river, or eight miles long along both sides of such a river, provided that within four years they established a colony of fifty adults upon it. After 1638 all monopolies were abolished, and trade and settlement were opened to all nations, with liberal offers of land, livestock and implements to tempt farmers. But the colony, with its autocratic Dutch rulers, did not prosper. In 1664, New Amsterdam (now New York) did not have a population of more than sixteen hundred, in spite of its splendid situation for commerce.

The proprietors put the profits from the fur trade of central New York first, and would not spend the money needed to develop and defend the colony. Requests for a democratic government like New England's were met by threats to hang the critics to the tallest tree. The Dutch governors were in constant disputes with the English, who claimed the entire land; especially with the Massachusetts settlers in Connecticut, and the English along the Delaware River (the South River). Here, with no shadow of claim from discovery or exploration, Sweden had chartered colonies between 1638 and 1647, locating five or six trading posts. But these were undefended, and the Dutch easily captured them in 1655. In 1653, when England was at war with Holland, only the veto of Massachusetts saved New Amsterdam from united attack by the English colonists of New England.

The presence of the Dutch, and their control of the commerce of the Hudson River, made an English empire along the American Atlantic coast impossible. Trade laws in America could not be enforced, as long as this alien colony existed. In 1664 Charles II, planning a commercial war with Holland, calmly granted all the territory between the Connecticut and the Delaware Rivers to his brother, the Duke of York, as a proprietary province. The Dutch burghers of New Amsterdam received no word of this, until the duke's fleet anchored in New York harbor, with a peremptory demand that the fort be surrendered. Peter Stuyvesant, the courageous old governor, ordered his gunners to light their fuses and resist. The shrewder burghers forced him to yield. New Netherland was surrendered without a blow. The English flag waved uninterruptedly from the Carolinas to Canada.

The Dutch left their imprint on New York (as the colony was now renamed), in more ways than in family names, architecture, social customs and amusements. The Dutch

had ruled without charter or elected assembly. The Duke of York imitated this, publishing his own *Duke's Laws* for the province. It was not until 1683 that he yielded to pressure from his own colonists, and neighbors northeast and south, and granted an assembly. James II, coming to the throne in 1685, revoked this, and tried to make New York a pattern of absolute government for the rest of the colonies. The Glorious Revolution of 1688, which put William and Mary on the throne, caused a new governor to arrive in 1691, who allowed a popular assembly and self-government. New York grew slowly, and was one of the small states at the time of the founding of our nation, as opposed to the imperial size and power of Massachusetts, Virginia and Pennsylvania. The growth of New York really commenced only after the Erie Canal and the New York Central Railroad later made the Hudson and Mohawk valleys the main eastern highway to the Great Lakes and the growing western regions.

The Duke of York, even before he had taken over the Dutch rule, granted the territory from the Hudson to the Delaware to two of his friends, Lord Berkeley, brother of the disliked governor of Virginia, and Sir George Carteret, former governor of the island of Jersey in the English Channel. The territory was named New Jersey in 1664; and the proprietors sought to attract settlers by granting a liberal constitution, with a popular assembly controlling taxes, and religious liberty. In 1674 the province was divided into East Jersey and West Jersey. Ultimately both came under the control of the Pennsylvania Quakers. Between 1702 and 1738, New Jersey was placed under the administration of the royal governor of New York. Its history continued turbulent, down to the Revolution.

In 1682 William Penn, lacking a coast line, persuaded the Duke of York to cede to him the lands along the Delaware which Peter Stuyvesant had conquered in 1655 from

the Swedes. Maryland claimed this territory, but New York had held it for eighteen years. These "Three Lower Counties" were ceded to Pennsylvania, and were governed by a deputy appointed by William Penn. In 1702, these Lower Counties were separated from the Quaker colony, and were given their own legislature, as the colony of Delaware. They were still owned by the Penn family, at the time of the American Revolution.

MARYLAND AND PENNSYLVANIA

Virginia and the New England settlements had been founded as self-governing colonies. All the rest of the colonies which later united to form our young nation were proprietorships, a political condition halfway between royal colonies and self-governing ones. This was really an extension of the feudal system which had been in force in medieval Europe, by which the king, instead of directly controlling the commoners, partitioned the lands out among great feudal lords, who stood between him and the commoners. Similarly the king's colonial proprietors, a courtier or a group of courtiers, named governors, appointed judges, collected a land tax or quitrent from the colonists, attracted settlers by liberal bonuses, and in general managed their colonies as absentee landlords manage their farms. The charter granted by the king limited them on one side; the increasing opposition of the popular assemblies limited them on the other.

Charles I, Stuart king of England from 1625 to 1649, was entirely out of sympathy with the Puritan movement, which since the time of Elizabeth had been increasingly powerful in the Church of England. He extended all favors possible to his Catholic subjects. One of the leaders among these was George Calvert, Lord Baltimore. He obtained from the king the lands between the fortieth parallel of north latitude, and the southerly bank of the Potomac, with

one of the most liberal charters granted to any proprietor. The people of Maryland were to enjoy all the privileges, franchises and liberties of English subjects; persons and property within the colony were to be free of all royal taxation; the proprietor, with the advice of the colony's freemen, was to make all laws.

On the death of Lord Baltimore before the king had had time to attach his great seal to this document, his son, Cecilius Calvert, inherited his father's rights under it, as soon as it was signed. In 1634 this son, the second Lord Baltimore, sent out a colony to St. Marys, on Chesapeake Bay. It took tact to meet the problems confronting this sole English Catholic colony in America. The territory lay within the Virginia Company's grant of 1609, take it either way. A fur trader from Virginia named Claiborne was already established on Kent Island in the Bay, and he refused to move away, or to acknowledge the sovereignty of the Calverts. The Virginia Protestants almost went to war, before he was finally ejected. Lord Baltimore construed the charter as giving him the right to make all laws, with only the formal approval of the legislature needed to make them binding. The very first assembly took the opposite view, and insisted on passing all laws, leaving to the proprietor only the right of veto. The proprietor yielded this point.

The motive in the settlement of the colony was primarily to furnish a refuge for the English Catholics, who were as unpopular with Virginia Church of England colonists as with the New England Puritans. The Protestants regarded the Catholic ritual as thoroughly wicked. The colony from the first was thrown open to all Christians believing in the trinity; and by 1642 the Protestants formed three-fourths of the population of the colony. In self-defense, in 1649 Lord Baltimore found it necessary to preserve the

religious liberties of the Catholics by having his assembly pass the Maryland Toleration Act, providing that—

no person in this province professing to believe in Jesus Christ shall be in any ways troubled, molested, or discountenanced for his or her religion . . . so they be not unfaithful to the lord proprietary or molest or conspire against the civil government established.

This still did not permit civil rights to Jews and free-thinkers, as was granted in Roger Williams's colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations. Within another decade, the antagonism between the rival sects had died down, and Maryland settled down to a peaceful prosperity.

William Penn, a member of the religious Society of Friends or Quakers, had been one of the arbiters appointed to settle a dispute between two governors as to West Jersey; and later a trustee for the proprietors, and ultimately a proprietor himself. On the death of his father, old Admiral Penn, the estate had a claim of some sixteen thousand pounds against the Stuart king, Charles II, in part for services to the Stuart cause. William Penn, interested in the idea of a settlement for the persecuted Quakers in the New World, accepted a grant of land from the king, in settlement of this debt. The land was an immense area west of the Delaware River, which Penn named Sylvania, or the Woodland; but which the king named Pennsylvania, in honor of the great dead admiral.

The king was in the midst of a bitter quarrel with the Massachusetts Puritans, and hence he limited the powers of Penn. He required a colonial agent to reside always in London; toleration for the Church of England; the king's veto power for five years after any legislation was passed; and the right of the English parliament to tax the colony. As in the case of the Virginia charter of 1609, the wording of the grant to Penn left ample scope for argument. His southern boundary extended to—

a circle drawn at twelve miles distant from Newcastle, northward and westward unto the beginning of the 40th degree of northern latitude.

As if this were not obscure enough, a circle drawn from Newcastle, Delaware, with a twelve miles radius, misses the fortieth parallel by many miles. Lord Baltimore's grant included all the land—

which lyeth under the 40th degree.

For almost a hundred years, the heirs of the Penns and the Calverts quarreled over the boundary line. In 1764–1767, two English surveyors, Mason and Dixon, ran the present boundary line (39 degrees, 43 minutes, 26 seconds) to the point where the circle, still visible on the map, arches above Wilmington and Newcastle. This boundary compromise is the famous Mason-Dixon line between Pennsylvania and Maryland, which later was taken as the boundary line between the southern slave states and the northern free states.

Penn was a far-visioned business man, who offered lands to settlers at attractive terms. Land was sold to homesteaders at ten dollars for a hundred acres. Complete religious freedom was granted. A democratic assembly was promptly provided for. The Delaware Indians, already chastened by the fierce northern Iroquois, were cemented into friendship by Penn's fair dealings with them. From 1681 on, the year of the charter, emigrants flocked to the Quaker colony, especially the Scotch-Irish Protestants from Ulster in Ireland, ground down by harsh landlords and harsher trade laws, and the German Protestants of the Rhineland, against whom Louis XIV of France was battling. Penn even issued a prospectus inviting settlers, which was translated into Dutch and German, and was widely circulated on the continent of Europe. Out of this campaign came the sale of 15,000 acres of land to Protestant Pietists in Frankfort, who in 1683 founded a town

of mechanics and weavers in Pennsylvania, called Germantown or Germanopolis. The Scotch-Irish, Germans, French, Dutch, Hungarians, Bohemians, together with a few Welshmen, Jews, Fins and Poles, settled from Pennsylvania and New Jersey to Florida, although chiefly in Pennsylvania, the Jerseys, and the Carolinas, where the proprietors made especial efforts to attract settlers. The Scotch-Irish especially began to push toward the unsettled western frontiers, commencing the frontier movement which did not lose its impetus until the Pacific formed a barrier to further land migration.

Before 1750, Pennsylvania's population had increased from twenty thousand to ten times as many. In 1683 Penn planned a "green and open country town" to be called "the city of brotherly love," or Philadelphia. It soon left New York far behind in wealth, population, and culture, and until 1800 was the leading American colonial city. It was a city of neat brick houses, streets paved and lighted, with such manifestations of civilization as a hospital, an asylum, schools, printing presses, a library founded in 1731, a philosophical society founded twelve years later, and a university founded in 1749.

Penn was the most enlightened of all the colonial founders. He was liberal, religious, and tactful, more than any other man in our early history. He removed the oppressive death penalty on all of the score of English offenses punishable by it except murder; he turned his prisons into workhouses and schools for lawbreakers. In 1688, in the famous Germantown protest, Pennsylvania took the lead in opposing human slavery. He retained personal control of the colony until 1712, and set it upon an enlightened course from which it did not deviate during colonial days.

THE CAROLINAS AND GEORGIA

Except for the settlements in Virginia and the southerly portion of New England, all of the colonial territories, during the 17th century, were granted by the English reigning Stuart family to their court favorites—Gorges, Mason, the Duke of York, Berkeley, Carteret, Penn, the Calverts, and the groups who settled the Carolinas and Georgia. It is true that this was a royal device to secure colonization; only the court favorites were powerful enough to plan and carry through a project for the settlement of these unsettled portions of the New World. The major motive on their part was to secure a subsidy or pension from the king; they regarded the colonies as sources of income, like the grants of government monopolies or sinecure positions. In the cases of Maryland and Pennsylvania, the religious element also entered; but even in these cases, the primary motive was to a great extent the financial advantage of the proprietors.

Charles II, soon after his restoration, granted to eight noblemen, in 1663, the huge region extending from Virginia to the Spanish settlements in the Floridas, and stretching westward to the "South Sea" or Pacific Ocean. These courtiers employed the great English philosopher John Locke to draw up a plan of government called the "Grand Model," intricate and elaborate, which might have worked for a thickly settled European community of supermen, but was absurd when sought to be applied to a sparsely settled frontier community. The colony grew of its own momentum. A group dissatisfied with Virginia settled on the Chowan River, about 1670; and another group on the Ashley River, three hundred miles to the south. In 1680, this latter group removed bodily to the present site of Charleston, South Carolina; and the two settlements developed into the present states of North and South

Carolina. As early as 1691, these two settlements were called by their present names; but the actual division into two colonies with separate governors did not occur until twenty years later.

The Carolinas, throughout most of their colonial history, were plagued with every conceivable sort of quarrel possible—between king and proprietors, proprietors and governors, governors and colonists. North Carolina especially became a haven of refuge for runaways, pirates and freebooters, where each man was his own legislature. From the South, the Spaniards egged on the Indians to harass the settlers; from the ample inlets, harbors and creeks, the pirates established their sanctuaries, and harassed the settled colonists. When the assembly of South Carolina, unable to pay the war debts contracted in fighting off the Indians, offered the land for sale to the settlers on their own terms, this was vetoed by the alarmed proprietors. At once the assembly, in 1719, petitioned George I to take the colony under his control as a royal province—the only instance of a voluntary request for alteration into a royal colony occurring among the colonies. In 1729 the baffled proprietors sold out all their rights to the crown for fifty thousand pounds; and two more royal colonies were officially added to the growing list.

In 1732, the year that George Washington was born in Virginia, an English philanthropist named James Oglethorpe, who had been chairman of a parliamentary committee investigating English prisons, obtained from the Hanoverian sovereign, George II, a charter for twenty-one years, covering the territory between the Savannah and the Altamaha Rivers—all a central part of the Carolina grant. He desired the land, as a location where impoverished criminals and debtors could work out their salvation in the New World. His project was popular. The Church of England contributed, to help convert the Indians to Protestant Chris-

tianity. The English capitalists contributed, on fire with visions of huge profits from the manufacture of silk and wine. The government was heartily in favor of the project, as it would establish a buffer state between the northerly colonies and the Spanish settlements in Florida; especially since war with Spain seemed inevitable, and, indeed, was declared seven years later.

The colony was established in 1733, and was named Georgia, in honor of the reigning monarch. At first, the philanthropist who founded it forbade slavery and the traffic in rum, which had become a large source of income to the colonies of Massachusetts and Rhode Island. But the convicts turned out to be inefficient workers; and wine and silk culture were to be dismal failures. Slowly the cultivation of cotton and rice began to put the colony on its feet. Until 1752 Oglethorpe did his best for the weak colony, fighting back the Spaniards on land and sea. But that year he had to surrender the colony to the king as a royal province. He lived long enough to see the independence of this and the other colonies acknowledged by a later king of the same ruling line.



The Dutch Purchase Manhattan Island

CHAPTER IV

DAILY LIFE IN THE COLONIES

THE ENGLISH AS COLONIZERS

THE Spanish settlement in Florida was older than any English settlement in North America. The year after the settlement of Jamestown, Champlain settled Quebec, in Canada, for the French. Six years later, and six years before the Pilgrims commenced the English colonization of New England, the Dutch built the first few houses on Manhattan Island, and established a fortified trading post on the site of what is now Albany. Before New Haven, Maine, the Carolinas, Pennsylvania or Georgia had been settled, the Swedes were established on the Delaware River. Thus four other European nations made the American experiment, as well as England; and of these only England was entirely successful.

The reason for this lay deep in European character, as it had been developed by European history. Spain was still mediævally autocratic, with memories of the Inquisition, the expulsion of Moors and Jews, the bloody suppression of the Netherlands, recent in her memory. She was interested almost wholly in draining gold and other wealth from the new continents; and no colony thrives, when it is planted as a mere udder to be milked dry. The Netherlands were barely emerging from Spanish tyranny at home; they had not been able to go far toward developing democratic institutions in Europe, and hence were not trained to develop them in a colony. France continued uninterruptedly under the

Bourbons until the outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789; and the development of a self-sufficient spirit of independence abroad was no more possible than at home. Sweden at this time was a predominantly military monarchy, drained repeatedly by a succession of punishing European wars; she could not spare the energy to defend her American colonies, much less to develop them.

England, since she had abandoned her costly wars to conquer France, and had humbled Spain, had a long breathing spell. Under Henry VIII, she had thrown off the economic drain to Rome. His successors, especially the four Stuart kings, were disliked and suspected by the increasingly independent bulk of the English people. Democracy grew slowly and yet persistently. As early as 1215, a weak king had been forced by powerful barons to sign Magna Carta, intended only to guarantee rights to them, but gradually spreading its influence downwards to embrace more and more of the English people. The weak Stuarts came into conflict with the sturdy Puritan leaders, Cromwell and the rest, determined not to let their race sink into the slough of subserviency that other Europeans were in. They cut off a king's head and ejected a whole royal family in favor of alien royalty, to win their point.

In every way, this development in England worked toward a self-sufficient independence on the part of the colonies: and only a race of slaves could prosper under any other system. Virginia began and continued cavalier. But the Virginians had no more desire to be oppressed by the Stuarts at home than the Puritans did, as their conduct during Bacon's Rebellion showed. New England was settled chiefly by self-sufficient and determined Protestants, who wanted interference from neither king nor devil. The colonies bid for settlers, by offering more and more tolerant terms of governmental non-interference, both regarding religion and taxation. The harsh pioneer conditions, with the inert en-

mity of the virgin continent supplemented by the tomahawking enmity of the Indians, developed self-reliance and manhood. The colonists could not count on England to defend them from a murderous midnight attack at the hands of Indians, Spaniards, or French; power had to be in their own hands, and not across the sea, and their whole history was a development of this tendency. The other nations kept their colonists subservient and weak; the English colonists were permitted to make themselves strong, and in the long run it is this difference which has given the Anglo-Saxon civilization its power in world affairs today.

The English colonists had to fight constantly to gain the rights which meant the difference between slavish failure as a colony, and self-sufficient success. But from the start they believed that, as Englishmen, they were entitled to most or all of the following: Religious freedom. Freedom of speech. Freedom of the press. A free right to petition the government for redress of grievances. The right to keep and bear arms. Protection against having to board and lodge soldiers. A man's home as his castle, except against a legal search warrant. Prompt and fair trials, with a jury, and no cruel or unusual punishments. No taxation without representation. Ultimately, they had to go to war to win these; but they did, and for a time held them. Many of these are still being fought for, and exist only in a weakened form. In some modern countries, some of these are denied altogether. But the fight for these definite rights was a powerful force working toward the success of the English colonies; and the demand for these rights was rooted deep in English history and character.

PLANTATION AND FARM

American colonial life in the South differed sharply from that in the North. Many factors contributed to this. The Southern colonies, especially Virginia and Maryland, had

more of the cavalier or courtier spirit—and this included, as an ideal, living the life of a gentleman of ease, while others worked for you. The Northern colonies were settled mainly by self-respecting yeomen and craftsmen, who did not want to be beholden to anyone, and who expected to do their own work. The fact that Negro slavery flourished better in the warmer South played its part too. But the greatest factor was the geography of the two sections: the fact that the Atlantic coastal plain was two hundred miles and more wide along the Southern states, and practically disappeared by the time New York and New England were reached.

You can go two hundred miles directly inland from Mobile. Savannah, Charleston, Wilmington, and almost as far from Norfolk, before you reach mountains. The coastal plain is less than fifty miles wide at Philadelphia and Boston, and practically disappears at New York City. In Maine, the coastal plain is largely non-existent, for even some of the mountain ridges have been drowned, in the subsidence of the shore line; the offshore islands being the partially-drowned outer peaks of the ridges which form the peninsula. The width of the Southern plain permitted and encouraged wealth and leisure through employing large numbers of agricultural workers; the narrowness of the northern plain, and the difficulty of cultivation on steep rocky northern hillsides, promoted small farms and wealth and leisure, when they came, through shrewd commerce, rather than through agriculture.

It took many acres, devoted to the cultivation of tobacco, rice, cotton, and corn, to provide wealth for the owning family, in the South. The land favored this. The institution of slavery, which made work the badge of the enslaved class, and non-work the badge of the owning class, favored this. Broad navigable rivers, reaching far up into the level coastal plain, permitted each planter to have his private

wharf, and a plantation almost like a vast European feudal estate. In imitation of England, In Virginia and the Carolinas, and to a lesser extent in other parts of the South, laws of primogeniture caused these estates to pass undivided to the eldest son in each family, leaving the other sons to join the clergy, the legal profession, the medical profession, the army or navy, or at times to become writers or shiftless rovers. There was no chance for a public school system, when the next plantation might be a day's journey away. The white children had tutors, and were often aimed for English universities. An occasional mistress might teach the slaves the rudiments of reading, writing, and arithmetic; but this was not needed in domestic service or farming in the field. Government was conducted primarily by a courtly gathering of the lords of the manors from remote places; it was impossible to have anything like the tense continual interest of the New England town meeting.

New York had started with a patroon system, similar to the plantations of the South. But this was unsuited to the geography of the land. Pennsylvania, except far beyond the unpierced Appalachians, was broken up by hills, making a plantation system impossible. These states, and smaller New Jersey and Delaware, developed a culture half way between the puritanic democratic type of New England, and the aristocratic slave-owning type of the South.

New England, from the start, had a theocratic democracy in practice. The settlers had come over in congregations, which settled in compact settlements. The village green was the essential part of a New England village, with the church, the school, and public buildings grouped around it. The South later developed the courthouse square in the center of its towns; but the towns were never as important as the plantations, while in New England the towns were the centers of social life. The objective was a democracy

before God, which should include every inhabitant; there was no permanent lower class, such as the Southern slaves. Such a democracy called for education of every individual. Before 1650, every New England State except Rhode Island had compulsory education, in order, as the Massachusetts statute has it,

that learning might not be buried in the graves of the fathers.

Harvard College was established six years after the Puritans landed, while wolves still howled at night on the outskirts of the villages. Agriculture was hard, and was followed by the colonists, not by their slaves. It developed a hardy self-sufficient race of workers. So did the extensive fishing centered in the seaport towns. So did the constant menace of Indian attacks.

The clergy at first were the social leaders. They were succeeded by the brilliant group of aspiring lawyers, Otis and the Adamses, who had their fingers in commerce, including smuggling, as well. Smuggling, as a protest against iniquitous English laws, became a patriotic duty. But for a century and a half the clergy, stern, austere, filled with a high and at times intolerant Puritan idealism, were in control of the education of the young and the consciences of the adults. Life was a bitter struggle to qualify for the Puritan pleasures of the world to come; joy should be postponed until then. Nothing could have been more different from the Southern attitude, where the lords of the manor were all powerful, and the clergyman, as on large English estates, a mere pensioner on the bounty of the lord. New York, Baltimore, Richmond, and Southern cities might have theaters and other carnal amusements; these were only grudgingly admitted into New England, when they served a definite moral purpose.

CULTURE AND THE ARTS

The North, then, commenced with its social ideal personified in a hardy stern Puritan divine, who preached endless sermons in freezing weather in comfortless meeting-houses, for the glory of God and a small salary payable largely in farm truck and firewood, and prepared at a moment's notice to seize his musket and lead his congregation against an Indian attack. The South had as its social ideal the easy-going courtly planter, who wintered in a subtropical town like Richmond or Charleston, dining and wining and squiring ladies to their carriages with the grace of a Bourbon courtier, gambling, duelling, toying with poetry, and chatting casually of his son's friendship with English nobles at Oxford or Cambridge.

As early as 1630, an unnamed New Englander wrote in Massachusetts:

*The place where we live is a wilderness wood,
Where grass is much wanting that's fruitful and good;
Our mountains and hills and our valleys below
Being commonly covered with ice and with snow;
And when the northwest wind with violence blows;
Then every man pulls his cap over his nose:
But if any's so hardy and will it withstand,
He forfeits a finger, a foot or a hand-*

*But when the Spring opens we then take the hoe,
And make the ground ready to plant and to sow;
Our corn being planted and seed being sown,
The worms destroy much before it is grown;
And when it is growing some spoil there is made
By birds and by squirrels that pluck up the blade;
And when it is come to full corn in the ear,
It is often destroyed by raccoon and by deer. . . .*

*Instead of pottage and puddings, and custards and pies,
Our pumpkins and parsnips are common supplies;
We have pumpkins at morning, and pumpkins at noon
If it were not for pumpkins we should be undone.*

But instead of sighing for the fleshpots of England, the New England Puritans so impressed their acceptance of New England conditions upon the American soul, that today the pie made from that tasty squash, the pumpkin, has risen to an almost sacred character at Thanksgiving and other holidays. The first book published in the colonies was the Bay Psalm Book, appearing in 1640 in Cambridge, reprinted twenty-three times in America, and often in England. Here is its 137th psalm:

*Let cleave my tongue my pallate on
If mind thee doe not I,
If chiefe joyes o're I prize not more
Jerusalem my joy.*

Governor John Winthrop pictured the lot of the Puritan saints:

*Grow up, therefore, in grace,
And fear his holy name,
Who in thy mother's secret womb
Thy members all did frame,
And gave to thee a soul,
Thy body to sustain,
Which, when this life shall ended be,
In heaven with him shall reign.*

Michael Wigglesworth, another Puritan divine, thus addressed the wicked:

*But get away without delay,
Christ pities not your cry;
Depart to hell, there may ye yell
and roar eternally.*

The Southern poetry, as might have been expected, spoke mainly of gallantry and lady-service. Lovelier even than the familiar lyrics of Pinkney and Shaw is this anonymous *Anacreontic*, published "by a Gentleman of Virginia" in 1736:

*For me, (did Fate permit to use
Whatever Forms our Fancies chuse),
I'd be my lovely Sylvia's Glass,
Still to reflect her beauteous Face;
I'd be the pure and limpid Wave
In which my Fair delights to lave;
I'd be her Garments, still to hide
Her snowy limbs, with decent Pride;
I'd be the Girdle, to embrace
The gradual Taper of her Waist;
I'd be her Tippet, still to press
The snowy Velvet of her Breast;
But if the rigid Fates denied
Such Ornaments of Grace and Pride,
I'd be her very Shoe, that she
With scornful tread might trample me.*

So strongly contrasted were the inner lives, as well as the outer lives, of the Northern and Southern colonies.

And yet, the similarities were more impressive than the differences. North, as well as south, the problems were similar: the conquest of the virgin continent, the conquest of the increasingly jealous and belligerent Indians. As late as 1770, John Dickinson of Pennsylvania wrote—

Some few towns excepted, we are all tillers of the soil,
from Nova Scotia to West Florida.

The New Englander might do it directly, the Southerner by means of his slaves; but both had the same problem, wresting a living and what wealth above it could be obtained, from the fertile inert soil. And yet, by 1743, Benjamin

Franklin of the same colony, the first cosmopolitan American, and a real world citizen, pointed out that the main drudgery of conquering the land had been completed, and that an increasing number in every colony were afforded the leisure to cultivate the fine arts, and improve the common stock of knowledge. Before 1700, a governor of New York had installed a monthly postal service between New York and Boston, over the post road still used as an automobile highway. By 1710 the English postal service had been extended to America, with New York as its colonial headquarters, and with service reaching from the border of Maine to Williamsburg, capital of Virginia.

Public schools were established in the South and in the middle colonies during this same century. For fifty years, Harvard was the only college in the colonies. Then came William and Mary in Virginia, in 1693; Yale in Connecticut, 1701; Princeton in New Jersey, 1746; Philadelphia—now the University of Pennsylvania—1749; King's College, now known as Columbia, in New York, in 1754; and Rhode Island College, now Brown University, in 1764.

As early as 1678, the first medical treatise appeared in Boston, Thomas Thacher's book—

to guide the common people of New England how to order themselves and theirs in the Small Pocks or Measels.

A century later, Philadelphia organized the first medical school. In 1638 the first font of type arrived in the colonies, and two years later the Bay Psalm Book was published in Boston. The first newspaper in the colonies was the 1690 *Publick Occurrences both Foreign and Domestic*, also a product of Boston. The government promptly suppressed it. Fourteen years later, the *Boston News-Letter* appeared, and remained. Before 1755, every colony except Georgia, Delaware and New Jersey had its newspaper. There were three or four magazines. There were never many books. The

attitude was provincial, and England was looked to to furnish both religious and scientific treatises, and the immense and immensely dull novels of the period before 1800.

The freedom of the press first came into issue in court in the arrest, in 1734, of a New York City printer named Peter Zenger, for seditious libel in criticizing the government. One of the ablest lawyers in the colonies travelled from Philadelphia to New York to defend the right of free press, and secured the acquittal of his client.

Means of travel and communication between the various colonies were so scanty, that, when their representatives were called together for any purpose of protest, they met practically as ambassadors from strange and remote nations, alien of face, action and thought. It was somewhat in this spirit that the colonies, acting as independent nations, finally banded themselves into a league, with all thought of a homogeneous nation still in the future. There were constant bickerings over the contradictory wordings of the Stuart charters, over pro rata payments for expenses growing out of wars against the Indians, and other points of difference.

Yet the similarities were greater. They were all English, and proud of their heritage of a love of liberty, which they were willing to carry to the point of death in its behalf. They all believed that they were entitled, as Englishmen, to self-government, and to absolute control of their own purse-strings in matters of taxation. They all sensed with Burke that "the power to tax is the power to destroy," and insisted that this right go to no outside individual or group. Nothing but an attack on these immemorial rights of Englishmen could have united the isolated and vastly differing colonies into a coherent and effective whole. But this attack came; and it found them ready, and ultimately welded them into the nation we know today.

CHAPTER V

THE FRENCH LOSE THEIR AMERICAN EMPIRE

THE FRENCH ARRIVE

IN 1524 the Italian Verrazano, sailing for France, had charted the north Atlantic coast from Florida to Nova Scotia. During that same century, many attempts were made to establish French settlements in Brazil, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia or Acadia, and even South Carolina, where in 1562 a group of French Protestants under Jean Ribaut tried unsuccessfully to found a permanent colony at Port Royal, at the mouth of the Broad River.

The only important discoverer among all of these was Jacques Cartier, a seaman of St. Malo in Brittany, who was sent out by Francis I of France, in 1534. He came in search of the fabled northwest passage to the East Indies, and on his first expedition explored the Gulf of St. Lawrence. The next year he returned, and pushed his way up the splendid river, past the impressive headlands where Quebec and Montreal now stand. And then, just beyond, impassable rapids barred his way. He named the rapids *Lachine*, or China, since they were the closed gate to what he supposed was the China Sea somewhere beyond. Cartier endeavored to establish a French colony along the river, and one winter a group of his men wintered there. But the experiment collapsed, and it remained for the seventeenth century to witness the actual beginning of French colonization, as it did of English.

In 1603 Samuel de Champlain, navigator, scientist, and explorer, was employed by fur-trading interests to explore the St. Lawrence territory, and that year he sailed up the river. In 1604 he took part in the first permanent French settlement in America—Port Royal, now called Annapolis, in Nova Scotia. Four years later, he began a settlement which developed into the city of Quebec. The rigors of winter almost ended the settlement, that first year. The next year, Champlain marched south with a war party of Algonquins and Hurons, and on the way discovered the lake still called after him. He took part in the victory of his allies over the Iroquois; the first volley from French guns sent the enemy flying. The Iroquois promptly allied themselves with the Dutch of New Amsterdam, and later with the English. They never ceased their efforts to murder the French missionaries, and to kill out the Indian tribes that listened to their Christian teachings. Their power stretched from the upper Hudson to Lake Erie; and the French found it impossible to penetrate this hostile region, and hence had to aim into the interior of the continent by routes north of the Great Lakes.

This unfortunate alliance of Champlain with the Algonquins kept the French from their natural expansion southward into the Ohio Valley and the whole rich region of the United States immediately west of the Appalachians. If they had been firmly ensconced here, they could have controlled the exit from the one gateway from the seaboard to the interior north of the Gulf plains—the Hudson-Mohawk gateway. It is probable that they would have been able to hold the English to their mere foothold on the Atlantic coastal plains, in which case the interior of the continent would have developed a French civilization, instead of an English one. History is full of such thought-provoking ifs.

The French concept of colonization can be obtained from the regulations issued in 1627–1628 by Richelieu for the

Hundred Associates of New France; and from the later regulations of the ministers of Louis XIV, after 1663, when New France became a crown colony. No foreigner was allowed in the colony. None but Roman Catholics could enter it. Ownership in land was restricted to great proprietors, who merely rented the land to the cultivators of the soil, in return for a part of the crops, or for labor on the estates of the proprietors. No representative assembly was permitted, even in an advisory capacity. There was no local government whatever, and no trial by jury. The government ordered what taxes were to be paid, what ports could be traded at, what religion was to be followed, what tools were to be used, what crops were to be planted, what age marriage was permitted, and how many children each couple was supposed to bring up. This principle is called paternalism—the treatment of the colonists as if they were little children, subject to a father's despotic sway. It produced a subservient military strength; but it did not produce the essential quality of self-reliance, and always limited the number of colonists. By 1700, the English along the coast grew to number more than four hundred thousand; while the French remained a mere eighteen thousand. There were only three chief posts, Quebec, Three Rivers, and Montreal, each ninety miles from the next. Agriculture could only be carried on under the shadow of the forts, for fear of hostile Indian attacks.

The fur-trappers, hunters, and traders, known as wood-rangers or *coueurs de bois*, scorned such babying regulations. In defiance of the regulations, they often abandoned their language, religion, and civilization, and joined Indian tribes, marrying Indian squaws and accepting the fierce wandering life of the redskins. Missionaries, chiefly Jesuits, penetrated the wilds almost as soon as the wood-rangers, seeking to convert the Indians to the dominant European religion. Their annual reports, published in translation as

the *Jesuit Relations*, are a rich mine of information about the activities of the French in colonial America.

Champlain explored westward as far as Lake Ontario, Georgian Bay, and the Ottawa valley. In 1634, he dispatched Jean Nicolet as far as the outlet to Lake Superior. For thirty years other explorers, traders and missionaries pushed ever westward, reaching the headwaters of the Mississippi, and even the glacial shores of Hudson Bay. St. Luson, in 1671, at Sault Ste. Marie, where the waters of Lake Superior unite with Lake Huron, took possession of the land, in the name of the courtly monarch of France. Robert Cavelier, Sieur de la Salle, pushed westward by the lakes to reach the "Big Water" or *Mich sipi*, which the Indians said flowed southward for days and more days. La Salle sacrificed aristocratic ease at home to endure the pioneer privations, and in 1682 pushed his canoes out of the Illinois into the great river itself. Nine years before, Father Marquette and the trader Joliet had pushed down the river as far as the Arkansas, returning only when they were convinced that the river formed no western passage to the Indies, but flowed south to the gulf instead. Two months and three days after he first saw the river, La Salle planted the fleur de lis of France on the shores of the Gulf, naming the vast region Louisiana, in honor of the French king.

La Salle, after being forced to land on the coast of Texas, was assassinated five years later by members of his own party, as he sought to force his way through swamp and bayou-land to Louisiana. The French established posts down the Illinois and the Mississippi. They fortified Detroit in 1701, thus controlling Lake Erie and the portages to the Ohio tributaries. Bienville founded New Orleans on the only dry spot in the flood district in 1718, and this, capital of Louisiana, grew into a city of seven thousand inhabitants. Champlain, La Salle, and the great governor of Canada, Count Frontenac, commenced an empire which almost suc-

ceeded in holding the north and central portions of the continent under the French flag.

Many of the English colonial charters extended to the Pacific. But the Appalachians loomed as an impassable barrier; and so the English colonies, busied with their own concerns, did not know or care that the French were linking the center of the continent together with forts and settlements. New York alone had no mountain barrier between it and the rich west. Colbert, the able minister of Louis XIV, soon after that king ascended the throne, sent over twelve hundred trained soldiers, and pushed the frontier southward to Lake Champlain. The new governor was about to march down with half of his army to punish the harassing Iroquois, when he learned that the English had taken possession of New Amsterdam. He retired thoughtfully, reporting that the English king aimed at all America.

And yet, he wrote home to Colbert that it was essential for the French to have New York. It would split the growing English colonies in two. It would furnish Canada with an ice-free entrance to the interior: for New York is the most northerly port free of ice in the winter. And New York saw the French menace, and its governor in 1683 warned England against permitting the French retention of the Mississippi valley.

As long as the Stuarts ruled England, there was small danger of a break. For the latter pair of these English kings accepted huge sums from Louis XIV in their fights against the English parliament, and they could not be expected to object to what the French king's men did in America. But when William of Orange in 1689 mounted the English throne, France now had a determined opponent who could never forgive Louis XIV for his 1672 attack on the Netherlands; and a Protestant, determined to circumvent the French efforts to Catholicize America. In the next century and a quarter, England and France fought seven wars, that

raged on every continent except Australia. At the end of that period, France in the New World had ceased to exist.

THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WARS

The year that William came to the throne, he declared war against France. Shrewd Count Frontenac only needed an excuse to send his Algonquin allies against the English. During the eight years of warfare, the pillaging, burning and massacring of Dover, in what is now New Hampshire, and of Schenectady, at the eastern end of the Mohawk valley, were only the two outstanding examples of relentless Indian warfare the colonists had to suffer from. Frontenac died the year after peace was declared; but three years later, in 1701, Louis XIV precipitated the War of the Spanish Succession, counting on William's unpopularity in England. The accession of Anne, a Stuart sister-in-law of William, and the brilliance of the English general Marlborough, contributed to the English victory, signalized by the 1713 Treaty of Utrecht. By this, France surrendered to England Nova Scotia (Acadia), Newfoundland, and Hudson Bay. This gave England full title to lands disputed for a hundred years, and the entire control of the Iroquois lands.

Two peace-loving premiers appeared in the two countries, Robert Walpole in England and Cardinal Fleuri in France. The Indian raids, instigated by the French, continued; and between 1744 and 1748 King George's War took place, in which four thousand New England troops led by Colonel William Pepperrell of Maine captured fortified Louisburg on Cape Breton Island, at the mouth of the St. Lawrence. The Stuart pretender was defeated at Culloden in 1746, and the French stalemated. The 1748 Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle restored Louisburg to the French, to the great disgust of the New England colonists.

More and more the French irritated the English colonies.

In 1699, the French governor of Louisiana warned English sailors away from the mouth of the Mississippi. In 1702, the Spanish promoted Cherokee and Yamassee Indian raids against the Carolinas. Governor Bellomont of New York urged a string of fortresses on the French border, since the endless sallies after disappearing Indians in the forest were mere waste of energy. In 1721, Governor Keith of Pennsylvania requested that the passes behind Virginia be fortified. In 1727, Governor Burnet of New York fortified Oswego, on Lake Ontario, paying the bill out of his own pocket. Virginia, Carolina, and Georgia also sensed the growing menace.

The French fortified Crown Point and Niagara, put a fleet on Lake Champlain, and otherwise tightened their hold on the great valley. In 1749, Celeron de Bienville paddled down the Ohio River, burying lead plates beside the river and nailing signs to the trees, claiming the valley for Louis XV of France. The next year, Christopher Gist, for the Ohio Company of Virginia, followed the same course, selecting locations for English settlements in the same valley. War was not far distant.

There were only 80,000 inhabitants of New France, as opposed to 1,300,000 English in the colonies. New France was an armed camp far more than a settled agricultural community; and her autocratic form of government was a great advantage in warfare, when brought in conflict with fourteen differing governments, the homeland and the thirteen bickering colonies. New Jersey and the southern colonies for a long time refused to furnish any troops at all. The northern colonies demanded the right to name commanders and define the duties of the militia they did furnish. Worst of all, England sent over supercilious generals who sneered at the colonial troops and officers alike.

The summer of 1754, a group of colonial representatives met at Albany, to discuss improving inter-colonial relations,

and making the Iroquois alliance stronger. At this congress Benjamin Franklin of Pennsylvania proposed the celebrated Albany Plan of Colonial Union. This would have consisted of an annual meeting of colonial representatives to control Indian affairs, maintain a colonial militia, control public lands, legislate for the general benefit of the colonies, and impose taxes for joint projects. A president general, named by the king, was to have the power of appointing military commanders and other high officials; and he would have a veto power over the legislation of the grand council. The royal governors opposed this, as clipping into their powers; the colonies, because it called for some surrender of their own authorities. The plan failed of adoption, and the colonies were left disorganized as before. But the seeds of the idea had been planted.

When the French started the construction of a chain of forts linking Lake Erie with the Ohio, Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia sent a young major in his colony's militia to warn the French off territory—

so notoriously known to be the property of the crown of Great Britain.

He delivered his messages to the French commanders at Venango and Fort Le Boeuf in northwest Pennsylvania. The next year, 1754, he was sent to capture the junction of the Allegheny and Monongahela Rivers which constituted the Ohio. At Great Meadows, his forces came into contact with the French, and the first shots were fired which precipitated Europe, Asia and North America into the Seven Years' War—which is called in American history the French and Indian War. In Europe, the war consisted of an alliance of France, Austria, Spain, Russia and lesser countries against Frederick the Great of Prussia, and his ally England. In Asia, France and England fought over India; in America, over New France. The French had already erected Fort Duquesne at the forks of the Ohio, as the

river junction was called. The young Virginia major erected Fort Necessity nearby, to insist on England's claim to the region. On the 4th of July, his small garrison was forced to surrender. In later United States history, he became one of the greatest of all American figures. His name was George Washington.

The next year, British regulars under General Braddock marched out to take Fort Duquesne. He refused to heed the advice of the wise young Virginia militia major, and marched through the dense Pennsylvania forests in European battle line. The French and Indians surprised him, killed the general and a thousand of his troops; and the retreat would have been an utter rout, but for the cool gallantry of Washington, whose horse was shot from under him twice, and whose uniform was riddled with bullets, as he managed the retreat in typical frontiersman fashion.

The French had captured Braddock's plans describing an attack on the fort at Niagara and along Lake Champlain. The Indians were free to ravage the English settlements from Georgia to upper Pennsylvania. Indians in 1757 massacred a large number of English prisoners at Fort William Henry on Lake George. Incompetent generals blundered right and left, and the army was regarded as an opportunity for large scale graft and corruption. And then William Pitt, England's greatest war minister, came into power, and restored discipline and efficiency throughout the entire forces. England raised an army of 22,000 for American service, and the colonies raised 28,000 more. The English moved against Ticonderoga, and were badly defeated. They took Louisburg again in 1758. They captured Fort Duquesne, and renamed it Fort Pitt—a name which survives in Pittsburgh today. In 1759, Fort Niagara and the Lake Champlain fortifications fell.

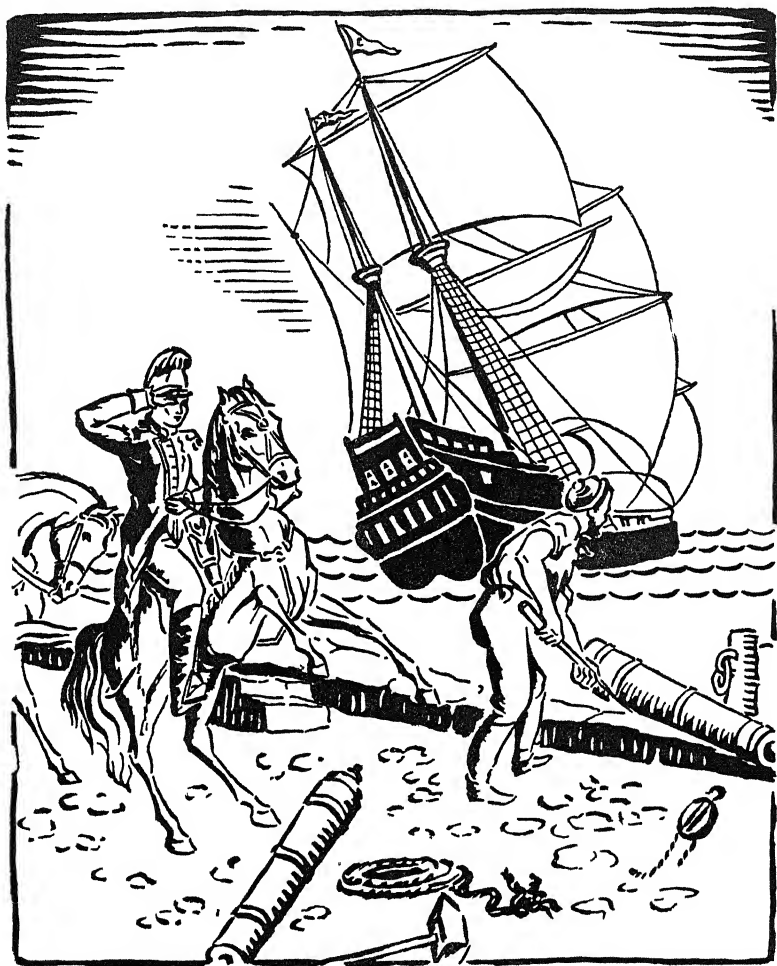
General Wolfe, the hero of Louisburg, sailed with his

fleet up the St. Lawrence to attack Quebec, while General Amherst, his co-victor at Louisburg, marched against Montreal, by way of the Hudson and Champlain valleys. The French held Wolfe off a whole summer. On September 12, 1759, he sent 3500 men in small boats with muffled oars on a starless midnight down the river, past the French sentries, to a point just above the city. In single file his men before dawn climbed a steep path to the height above the river, and overpowered the startled guards there. With morning, the astounded Marquis Montcalm, in charge of the garrison, saw the redcoats preparing to attack the city from the Plains of Abraham. Both generals were killed; but the French were defeated, and Quebec fell.

The next year Amherst took Montreal. By 1762, the English had captured the French and Spanish islands of the West Indies, including Havana and far off Manila in the Philippines. The 1763 Peace of Paris gave England possession of all Canada and all lands east of the Mississippi, except the island of New Orleans; except for two islands retained by France off Newfoundland, St. Pierre and Miquelon, for the drying of their fish, these islands never to be fortified. England restored to France most of her islands in the West Indies, retained Florida, and restored Havana and Manila to Spain.

The Peace of Paris ended the French dream of an empire in North America—except for its brief revival in the frantic Napoleonic era. It marked the zenith of England's colonial empire throughout the world. It gave Canada English democracy, in place of French paternalism. It opened the wide regions beyond the Alleghenies to the American frontiersman. And it relieved them of the French menace, and gave them a chance to study more calmly the treatment they were receiving from the English crown. With the danger of French and Indian attacks removed,

they could at last weigh carefully the benefits and disadvantages of the English colonial policy. The result of this appraisal was the American Revolution.



General Howe Evacuates Boston

PART II
THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

CHAPTER VI

THE MERCANTILE THEORY OF COMMERCE

THE NAVIGATION ACTS

AT THE moment when England formally outlawed France from the New World, her exultant American colonists were in no mood to exchange a threatened French oppression for a continuing English one. England might have forgotten, but they could ever forget, that their original charters gave to them and their descendants forever—

the same liberties, franchises, immunities . . . as if

they had been abiding and born within this our realm

of England or any other of our said dominions;

and that among these liberties, franchises and immunities were the right to a fair speedy jury trial, protection of life and property, local self-government, and, most of all, complete control of the right of taxation. Whether they were rigid New Englanders, disapproving in conscience of every religion and method of government except their own, or the few thousand Virginia planters whose holdings exceeded in acreage all of England, the colonists sensed already that they were different from England, and had outgrown it. They had started English; but they had become American, and powerfully crude, in the pioneer air. They were at least lords of their own land and its conduct. They did not have to consult Parliament before gagging a common scold and setting her in the doorway as a warning to passers-by; before piercing a young man's tongue with a hot skewer for taking the Lord's name in vain; before putting to death a

man and his dumb animals for an infraction of some tiny essential of the Mosaic code.

Three thousand miles of ocean rolled between Nantucket and Lands End. To the English ministry, this was merely a necessary delay between the expression of their demands, and the loyal answer of the colonists. To the colonists, it was a guarding wall set by God himself. The homeland attitude was determined by that theory called The Mercantile Theory of Commerce, enunciated by 17th and 18th century political economists, and devoutly subscribed to by Stuarts, members of the House of Orange, Hanoverians, and their ministers, alike. According to this, the wealth of a land was measured, not by its volume of trade—the goods it could produce and dispose of in some form of exchange—but by the quantity of gold and silver which it could heap up. It is easy to call this a miser's ideal; but political economy had not risen above it. Following this theory, the effort of each nation was to sell as much as possible to others, and to buy in return as little as possible,—so that the “favorable balance” of gold and silver could accumulate in its treasury.

When it came to colonies, the efforts of each colonizing nation were directed toward using the colonies as a market for the homeland's goods. The colony was to furnish the raw materials—iron, furs, hides, wool—to the homeland; they were to buy from it the completed products, steel, shoes, hats, clothing, paying the difference in gold or silver coin. They had to get this coin from somewhere. The European political economists and statesmen did not bother with this part of the problem. It was an article of faith with such thinkers and statesmen that, if a colony did not increase the flow of gold and silver to the homeland, it was useless, or worse.

The history of English trade and navigation acts directed at the colonies is a long one. As early as 1621, James I forbade the settlers of Virginia and Bermuda from sending

their tobacco to any country but England. The first of the Navigation Acts, or Acts of Trade, was enacted in 1651 by the Parliament of Cromwell's Protectorate. It forbade the carrying of American products to English ports except in vessels owned and chiefly manned by English subjects; and it forbade European products going to the colonies, except in English ships or the ships of the producing country, or the country usually shipping them. This was aimed against the Dutch carrying trade, and still gave the colonists the English right to purchase goods from any country, or ship their goods to any country.

By 1660, when Charles II returned to the throne, the king's autocratic nature manifested itself against the colonies, by requiring that their tobacco, sugar, cotton, wool, indigo, ginger, and dyes could only be exported to England, or to some other English colony. Most of these products came from the English West Indies; but tobacco was essentially a product of the American colonies, and this law seriously crippled the important Southern industry. Three years later, an act provided that all goods imported into the American colonies, except salt for the fisheries, food, Madeira and Azores wine, and Irish and Scotch horses and servants, must be reshipped from England, with of course duties on each article. Now both gates were locked, with an English toll-gatherer at each: colonial goods had to go only to England, European goods had to be reshipped through England. In theory, the colonies had become essential parts of the financial support of the homeland.

Acts of 1672 and 1696 merely added methods of collecting this toll, with penalties for smuggling or false registry. There were certain minor benefits conferred on the colonies, in the form of drawbacks and bounties. But the system knifed deeply into colonial development. By 1700, England could only consume 40 per cent of the tobacco exported; she resold 60 per cent to the continent of Europe, at great profit

to herself. From the start, even the most loyal colonies looked askance at them, and regarded it as moral to break them. Edward Randolph, English tax collector who arrived in Boston in 1680, wrote home:

I am received at Boston more like a spy than one of his Majesty's servants. . . . It is in every man's mouth that they are not subject to the laws of England, nor are they of any force in Massachusetts until confirmed by them, and that your Majesty had nothing to do with them, they were a free people.

It took ninety-six years for this spirit to manifest itself in revolution; but the spirit was never absent.

THE GRENVILLE POLICIES

George Grenville became premier in 1763, the year that France lost her empire in the New World. He proposed to Parliament, with the enthusiastic cooperation of reactionary tyrannical George III, three definite steps:

1. A permanent military force in America.
2. Revived enforcement of the Acts of Trade.
3. Parliamentary taxation in America.

It was these three measures, according to the great historian Lecky, that produced the American Revolution.

To England, these laws seemed fair. They had just incurred an enormous war debt, in adding Canada and the eastern Mississippi Valley to the empire; and it was easy to think that the chief benefits of this could come to the colonies, relieved forever of danger from hostile neighbors to west and north. And yet, an act of the king's in 1763 negated this. The great Ottawa warrior Pontiac summoned the Indians in a final effort against the English that year. He captured every fort between Lake Erie and the Ohio, and besieged Pittsburgh and Detroit. In October, the king announced a dividing line along the crest of the Alleghenies,

beyond which not a colonist must go. Those pioneers who had already penetrated the region were ordered to leave at once. The king's announced motive was to permit him to fight the Indians in his own way. Its actual result was an attempt to hold the colonies to the seaboard. Since many of their charters extended to the Pacific Ocean, this was another cause of grievance.

England determined to place a garrison of 10,000 troops in the colonies. She both sneered at the colonial militia, and distrusted them. The opinion was summed up by Wolfe, winner at Quebec, when he said, on hearing of the colonial defeat at Ticonderoga, that the Americans were—

the dirtiest and most contemptible cowardly dogs that you can conceive.

This attitude, and the threat of an armed garrison in their midst, further aggravated the colonists. But the worst threat of all was that the Trade Acts would be revived. Smuggling had become one of the most important American industries. One authority estimates that \$3,750,000 worth of goods were smuggled from Europe into America in 1765 alone. The Sugar and Molasses Act of 1733, intended to destroy the colonial trade with the Dutch and French West Indies, had become entirely inactive. Massachusetts and Rhode Island imported tens of thousands of hogsheads of molasses annually from the island, for rum-making. This smuggling, during the wars, had been both illegal and treasonable. English admirals found that American provisions alone kept the French Indies from starvation and surrender.

In spite of colonial rumblings, the English Parliament proceeded with its third task, raising a revenue by direct taxation, so directly contrary to the immemorial rights of Englishmen. The Sugar Act of 1764 taxed molasses three-pence a gallon—enough to ruin the trade of the New England colonies. Wines, silks, cambrics, and other luxuries widely used, were taxed. Samuel Adams and James Otis, in

Boston, were two immediate protestors against the English policy, Otis demanding the united action of all who felt aggrieved.

The British government estimated that these taxes would raise about £45,000 a year. But the cost of the army, and the elaborate official machinery needed to collect the taxes in America, would require £120,000 a year from the colonies, one-third of the total, England binding herself to pay the other two-thirds. Grenville decided that a stamp tax would be the most effective method of raising the needed funds. He announced to Parliament his intention of using this method, and waited a year for colonial protests and suggestion of a more agreeable method. The colonial agents protested against any tax at all; but these protests were not received, since Parliament did not entertain protests against revenue bills. In February, 1765, an uninterested half-empty Commons passed the Stamp Act 205 to 49; and the House of Lords proceeded to pass it without discussion or recorded vote.

This was the torch that set on fire the colonies.

PROTESTS AGAINST THE STAMP ACT

America flamed into opposition at once. This act meant that all pamphlets, newspapers, bills, bonds, leases, deeds, licenses, policies, diplomas—all legal and commercial papers of every kind—must bear a stamp indicating that a tax had been paid on it to the home government. The stamps would be a constant reminder of this English toll, which the best thinkers in both countries agreed was a flouting of ancient English rights.

The stamps were due to arrive November 1, 1765. Months before, the protests had reached fever heat. Eloquent Patrick Henry moved in the Virginia assembly in April that the inhabitants of Virginia were not bound to obey any law taxing them without their consent, since such taxation

tended to destroy both American freedom and English freedom at home. Two months later, James Otis proposed a meeting of colonial representatives, appointed by the assemblies, to deal with this threatened invasion of traditional English rights. In August, Boston mobs hanged two responsible English officials in effigy, and wrecked the palatial home of the English chief justice. The month before the stamps were to arrive, twenty-seven representatives of nine colonies met in New York in the Stamp Act Congress, and formulated the first joint protest of American colonies to the king, standing on the "inherent rights and liberties of the king's natural-born subjects." By November, every stamp agent in America had resigned.

Parliament met in December, and turned at once to the all-absorbing enforcement of the Stamp Act. Edmund Burke thundered that the colonists were as justified as the English patriots who had for so long fought back the oppressions of English kings. Pitt defended the colonists, pointing out that English taxation had to be a free gift from the subjects, acting through their legislatures.

I rejoice that America has resisted. Three millions of people so dead to all the feelings of liberty as voluntarily to submit to be slaves would have been fit instruments to make slaves of all the rest.

English merchants petitioned Parliament to rescind the tax. Benjamin Franklin, standing before the Commons, said quietly that there was not enough gold or silver in the colonies to pay the tax for even one year—and this was that Franklin who had recommended a friend as stamp-collector for Pennsylvania, and had believed so recently that the colonies would tamely submit!

In March, 1766, the Rockingham ministry, which succeeded Grenville's, repealed the act, amid rejoicings throughout the British Empire. The colonists voted statues to Pitt and King George. But they did not vote a cent of

revenue to England. And the repeal act had its annoying joker, in which Parliament asserted—

its full power and authority to make laws to bind the colonies and people of America in all cases whatsoever.

The colonies knew that they owed their charters to the kings, and not to Parliament; they had for more than a hundred years regarded their own assemblies as the peers of Parliament in power, even though the Parliament, since the time of William of Orange, had subordinated royal power to a very secondary place.

PARLIAMENT STRIKES AGAIN

Four months after the repeal of the obnoxious Stamp Act, the Rockingham ministry fell, to be succeeded by one headed by Pitt. But he had to retire to Bath for his gout, and control passed to Charles Townshend, Chancellor of the Exchequer—the minister of finance. Acting alone, Townshend, who favored taxing America, early in 1767 introduced in Parliament and had passed laws providing for—

No jury trial in revenue cases in America.

The validity of the hated Writs of Assistance.

Payment of the salaries of colonial judges and governors by England, and not by the colonial assemblies.

Commissioners of customs residing in American ports.

Heavy duties on tea, glass, lead, paper, and painter's colors imported into the colonies.

American protest did not delay. Boston town meetings declared a complete embargo against English goods. Samuel Adams drew up a circular letter to the other colonies, which Virginia and four others promptly approved of. The British minister for the colonies directed Massachusetts to rescind this letter, as of a "dangerous and factious tendency"; by a vote of 92 to 17, it refused. Two British regiments

were sent from Halifax, and landed on September 28, 1768, under the shadow of the guns of the warships which had brought them. Virginia passed resolutions against Parliamentary taxation and in favor of the right of united petition to the crown, Patrick Henry and George Washington both eloquent on the side of the resolutions. English imports fell off one-third. The Townshend taxes brought in less than half they had been expected to, and cost more than ten times as much to collect as they brought in.

A MASSACRE AND A TEA PARTY

The people of Massachusetts constantly jeered and gibed at the unpopular English soldiers. On March 5, 1770, British soldiers, enraged by the taunts, fired on a group of Boston citizens, killing five and wounding others. Samuel Adams, delegate of a meeting of protest held in Faneuil Hall, demanded that Governor Hutchinson remove the regiments at once. When the governor hesitated, Adams threatened him with violence that night, if he did not yield. He ordered the regiments removed.

In January of that same year, the new ministry, headed by Lord North, had listened enough to the protests to remove all the taxes, except a duty of threepence a pound on tea. Astutely the king granted the East India Company a monopoly on tea in the colonies, free of the heavy English duties; so that tea was offered legally to the colonists cheaper than the price of tea smuggled by way of Holland. But this did not bribe the colonists. New York and Philadelphia refused to let the tea ships land. Charleston confiscated the tea, and later sold it. In Baltimore, citizens without disguise forced the captain of the *Peggy Stuart* to burn his ship and its cargo of tea. In Boston, when the governor refused to ship the tea back to England, leading citizens, painted up as Indians, boarded the ships at night on

December 16, 1773, and unceremoniously dumped the cargo into the harbor water.

RETALIATION IN MASSACHUSETTS

The king decided to make the belligerent patriots of Massachusetts an object lesson to the rest of the colonies. For almost half a century, Massachusetts had been a hotbed of opposition to oppressive king and Parliament.

To George III's eyes, the capital of Massachusetts was a center of vulgar sedition, strewn with brickbats and broken glass, where his enemies went about clothed in homespun, and his friends in tar and feathers, as one writer wittily puts it.

In March, 1774, Parliament passed the acts designed to crucify the rebellious colony—the acts called collectively "The Intolerable Acts." Boston port was to be closed, until the destroyed tea was paid for. Town meetings were forbidden, except to elect officers, except by special permission of the governor. Public buildings were to be taken over to quarter troops in. The royal officers, if indicted for certain crimes, were to be tried in friendly England, not in Massachusetts.

The colonies were quickened into unity by this retaliation. The Virginia assembly declared the day the acts were to go in force to be a day of fasting and prayer. The royal governor dissolved them, for siding with "rebels". They met at once in the Raleigh tavern, and proposed a yearly congress of committees named by the colonial assemblies.

The other colonies leapt at the idea. On September 5, 1774, representatives of all the colonies except Georgia assembled and formed the First Continental Congress, the meeting taking place in Carpenter's Hall in Philadelphia. They met—

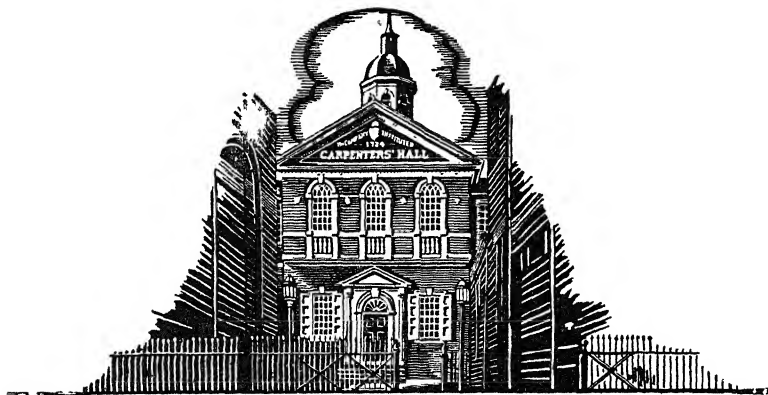
to consult on the present state of the colonies

and to deliberate and determine upon wise and proper measures for the recovery and establishment of their just rights and liberties and the restoration of union and harmony between Great Britain and the colonies, most earnestly desired by all good men.

There were a few far-sighted men who saw that separation was inevitable. The majority were still loyal to England as she should be, if not to England as it was. Among the group of half a hundred delegates were the chief leaders of the Revolutionary struggle against king and Parliament—George Washington, Patrick Henry, John Adams, Samuel Adams, Stephen Hopkins of Rhode Island, John Rutledge of South Carolina, John Dickinson of Pennsylvania, Roger Sherman of Connecticut.

They listed thirteen objectionable Parliamentary acts, as “infringements and violations” of their rights; and respectfully petitioned the king to end these. They proposed an American Association of the colonies to boycott English trade, both import and export, until this was done. They voted to reassemble on the tenth of May, 1775, unless Parliament had repealed the detested laws by that time.

But it was too late for petitions. It was the time for war.



CHAPTER VII

OPENING OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

THE SHOT HEARD ROUND THE WORLD

IN THE summer of 1774, General Gage was appointed governor of Massachusetts, succeeding Governor Hutchinson. He forbade a meeting of the colonial assembly. In spite of this, it met at Salem, and then at Cambridge and Concord. It began to collect powder and other military stores, and took over the government of all Massachusetts except Boston, where the governor had his English regiments on guard. Early in 1775, Parliament rejected the petition of the First Continental Congress, though Pitt, Burke and Fox fought to the end against this. It proceeded to declare that a state of rebellion existed in the American colonies.

On the night of April 18, 1775, the governor sent a detachment of troops to arrest the "traitors" John Hancock and Samuel Adams, who were in the house of a preacher named Jonas Clark at Lexington; and other troops to capture the colonial powder and supplies at Concord. Paul Revere, patriot, copper engraver and silversmith, with several other patriots, learning of the intended attack, galloped off through the night, warning the farmers to take to arms, and putting the guardians of the military stores on notice.

The redcoats reached the little village of Lexington, to find a little company of minutemen, or militia ready to fight at a minute's notice, drawn up on the village green, under their commander, Captain Parker. The British major com-

manded the rebels to disperse. The minutemen refused. The British fired a volley of musket shots into their midst, killing or desperately wounding eight. They marched on to Concord, and destroyed what powder had not been hidden. Their long trudge back to Boston was between stone walls and apple orchards, concealing armed farmers and militiamen. Sixteen thousand indignant militiamen gathered and laid siege to Boston, where Gage and his regulars were.

The difference between the colonial attitude, that the colonies were Englishmen subject to the king but with all the self-governing rights of Englishmen, and that of the king's party, that Parliament had a right to revoke any charter privileges or even traditional English rights, was irreconcilable, with such men as George III selected to head his government. A Pitt, a Burke, or a Fox only could have compromised the stalemate, by the wisdom of permitting such a virtual independence as English dominions possess to-day. But no 18th century Englishman, at the hour of the mother country's strength, could have had that foresight. The king was largely to blame for the outbreak of hostilities, which he indeed welcomed. When Parliament passed the Intolerable Acts, the king said openly,

The die is now cast; the colonies must submit, or triumph.

The colonies had determined never to submit.

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

Less than a month before the battles of Lexington and Concord, Patrick Henry thundered at a convention in Richmond, Virginia,—

The war has actually begun. The next gale that sweeps from the North will bring to our ears the clash of resounding arms. Our brethren are already in the field. Why stand we here idle? . . . Is life so dear or peace so sweet as to be purchased at the price of chains

and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God! I know not what course others may take; but as for me, give me liberty or give me death!

On the day that the Second Continental Congress assembled, May 10, 1775, Ethan Allen and his Green Mountain Boys thundered on the door of Fort Ticonderoga, held by a British garrison, their demand for surrender "in the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress." Five weeks after the Congress had begun the difficult task of governing the colonies, on the night of June 16, 1775, Colonel William Prescott with 1200 followers captured Bunker Hill and Breed's Hill, commanding Boston, to prevent their fortification by Gage. Before morning, Prescott had an earthworks fortification on Breed's Hill. The British warships in the harbor opened fire, but could not drive the Americans from their position.

Gage ordered General Howe to storm the height. Twice he marched his men up to within fifty yards of the American troops, and twice the militia, who withheld their deadly fire until they could see the whites of the enemy's eyes, drove them back. The British charged a third time. The Americans were out of ammunition. They retired without disorder, with more than a thousand redcoats killed and wounded. Since the English forces had been double the Americans, this defeat was in every way encouraging to the American cause.

The Continental Congress proceeded to issue paper money, pass trade laws, send agents abroad to seek the support of other nations, and aid the colonies in setting up independent governments, ignoring the king's officials. George Washington of Virginia, with his military experience dating back to the French and Indian War, was named commander in chief of the colonial troops. On July 6, 1775, it uttered a formal declaration of war against England, which stated in part:

Our cause is just. Our union is perfect. Against violence we have taken up arms. We shall lay them down, when hostilities cease on the part of our aggressors. On motion of John Dickinson of Pennsylvania, it dispatched a final appeal to the king to restore peace and harmony between himself and his American colonies.

Independence had not been the idea of the colonies, before this final petition was rejected. Franklin told Pitt in 1774 that he had never heard a drunk or sober American express a desire for actual separation. Washington, even when he took command of the colonial army, regarded independence with abhorrence. In August, 1775, the king called on all loyal English in America to suppress the rebellion. The next month he hired 20,000 German mercenaries from Hesse, Anhalt, and Brunswick, to put down the rebellion. Charlestown in Massachusetts was burned by the British in June, and Falmouth Harbor, now Portland, Maine, was burned without provocation in October. By November, two small American armies were sent by Congress to invade Canada, under Generals Benedict Arnold and Richard Montgomery. On December 30th, these armies attacked Quebec in a raging snowstorm, and Arnold was severely injured and Montgomery killed.

On January 10, 1776, Thomas Paine's celebrated pamphlet, *Common Sense*, was published in Philadelphia. Paine was an Englishman who had come to America in 1774 with "an aversion to monarchy, as debauching to the dignity of man." He argued vehemently for the colonies to cease the inconsistent attitude of professing loyalty to the king, while fighting him. He prophesied that they were the nucleus of a great American nation that would ultimately run from sea to sea, and lead the Old World into a brighter day, without the slavish traditions of monarchy and the degraded public morals that stained European history. More than one hundred thousand copies of the pamphlet were sold, a

tremendous circulation considering the small population of the colonies.

North Carolina had fought against the king's tax collectors at Alamance, near the source of the Cape Fear River, as far back as 1771, with many hanged as traitors for their resistance. In May, 1775, patriots at Mecklenburg passed a resolution annulling all the king's civil and military commissions, and including a formal declaration of independence. The North Carolina legislature directed its delegates in Congress to advocate independence. On June 7, 1776, Richard Henry Lee of Virginia moved that—these united colonies are and of right ought to be free and independent states, that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is and ought to be totally dissolved.

Vote on this far-reaching motion was postponed until July 1st, and a committee was appointed, consisting of Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, Roger Sherman and William Livingston, to draw up a Declaration of Independence, if the motion should carry. Livingston regarded independence as inexpedient, and left Philadelphia before July. Jefferson later declared that he wrote the document in an outburst of patriotism, "without reference to book or pamphlet." Adams and Franklin especially modified his first version. On July 1st, Lee's motion was debated. On July 2nd, it was passed by the vote of every colony except New York. On July 4th, Jefferson's Declaration of Independence was adopted.

WHAT THE DECLARATION DID

The Declaration of Independence commenced by stating that it was issued out of a decent respect for the opinions of mankind, in order that others might know the causes which had led to such a momentous step as the separation of col-

onies from their mother country, and their emergence into full nationality. It is one of the great state documents of all times. It opens with the high claim that certain truths are self-evident:

That all men are created equal.

That they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, including life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

Governments are instituted to insure these rights, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. When any form of government becomes destructive to these ends, it is the right of a people to abolish it, and install a new government which will insure these inalienable rights. The King of England has committed repeated injuries and usurpations, to achieve an absolute tyranny over these states—listing more than a score of these, including quartering troops in the colonies, isolating them from the trade of the world, taxing them without their consent, nullifying jury trial in many cases, and even transporting colonials overseas for trials on imaginary offenses; and culminating in plundering American ships, ravaging American coasts, burning American towns, and destroying the lives of American citizens, importing hirelings

to complete the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun, with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy of the head of a civilized nation.

The king has proved himself to be a tyrant, unfit to be the ruler of a free people. Therefore, as representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled,

do, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states; that they are absolved from

all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is and ought to be totally dissolved.

To this, firmly relying on the protection of Divine Providence, they mutually pledged with each other their lives, and their fortunes, and their sacred honor.

This document was surely forged in the furnace of outraged indignation and patriotic fervor. It altered a rebellion into a revolution, at one step. It made a nation out of restive colonies. It turned Washington's poor unfed uniformed troops into a national army. It turned the Tories from colonists who argued with some reason that armed resistance was not justified, into traitors to the land of their birth. And there were tens of thousands of these Tories or Loyalists in the colonies from Maine to Georgia, including many of the richest and best connected among them. The Tories fought openly and subtly against the success of the cause of the new nation, especially in the larger and wealthier communities. In turn, whenever the American forces had power, the Tory utterances were censored, their property was confiscated, and severe laws held them in check.

Five days after the passage of the Declaration, General Washington solemnly communicated it to his army in New York, where he had established himself after driving Howe out of Boston. The rebellion had at last become a revolution.

THE EARLY CAMPAIGNS

The task before George Washington was a tremendous one. The English generals, during the French and Indian War, had suffered from the independent attitude of the colonies who furnished their militias, as has been explained. The troops were volunteers, serving for limited terms of enlistment, and feeling free to return to their farms when

their enlistments were up, or when seeding or harvesting was required. They were largely without uniforms, and more largely without preliminary military training. Certain liberty-loving European soldiers joined the colonial forces, and succeeded in injecting a little discipline into them. But to the end they remained "the ragged Continentals", only the fierce flame of liberty firing them from time to time to outbursts of desperation and valor that overcame the most efficient military maneuvers of the armies that had been tried in the fires of the world's battles.

Washington, by May, 1776, had driven Howe out of Boston. Three major generals, Howe, Clinton, and Burgoyne, united against him. He established himself in New York. Howe's trained veterans dislodged the Americans from Brooklyn Heights, across the East River, and drove the harassed American forces step by step up New York City to the heights north of it, and on up the Hudson. The drive continued. Washington retired across the Hudson, and was slowly forced backward across most of the state of New Jersey. He finally took up a safe position on the western bank of the Delaware, and tried to organize a more efficient resistance.

Three thousand of his men were British prisoners. Seven thousand more were under the command of the jealous and erratic subordinate, General Charles Lee, whose conduct on more than one occasion was disobedience amounting practically to treason. When Lee refused to come to his aid in an emergency, in despair Washington wrote to his brother,

If every nerve is not strained to recruit a new army with all possible expedition, I think the game is pretty nearly up.

Washington had less than two thousand troops left. One aggressive attack by Howe from New York to the position on the Delaware might have ended the whole revolution.

But Howe was lazy, and preferred to remain on his

laurels in New York, while his sycophantic Tory flatterers whispered to him that his magnificent campaign, in driving Washington out of the city and far to the south, had already given a deathblow to all American thoughts of independence. A few weeks, they insisted, and a repentant Congress would come crawling on its knees to the general, pleading for the pardon that the king had empowered him to grant, when he has chastened the rebels sufficiently.

On Christmas night of 1776, Washington took the offensive. He crossed the Delaware and fell upon Trenton, defeating a force of a thousand Hessians here. A few days later, at the battle of Princeton, he overwhelmed the British army under Mawhood, and forced it to retreat to New York. These victories were just the encouragement the Americans needed. Volunteers began flooding in. Jersey loyalists repented of their stand, and swore allegiance to the young nation. The discouraged American agents in Europe began to plead their cause with renewed fervor. And the English learned, for the first time, that they had a great military genius against them, and not a mere "cowardly dog" of an American militiaman.



Princeton

CHAPTER VIII

THE DARK DAYS—AND VICTORY

THE HUDSON AND SARATOGA

THE British ministry began to realize that the American resistance would not crumble of itself; and, for their 1777 campaign, they prepared an elaborate triple attack, whose objective was to divide the southern from the New England colonies, and permit first one group, and then the other, to be crushed. There was just one practicable route from the seaboard to the interior of the continent, north of the Gulf regions; and that was the Hudson Valley, which divided about Albany into the two passes, one due west through the Mohawk Valley to Lake Ontario; the other due north, through the Upper Hudson and Lake Champlain, into Canada. England held the three terminuses of this route. She ordered Howe to march up the Hudson as far as Albany; St. Leger, to march eastward from Lake Ontario through the Mohawk Valley to Albany; and Burgoyne to push south from Montreal to join the other two at Albany.

Howe was never quick to move. In this case, his instructions were forgotten in a pigeonhole in the English war office by the war minister, Lord George Germaine, impatient to be off on a pheasant-shooting trip; and were not discovered until the dust of years had gathered upon them there. St. Leger bored painfully through the eastward wilderness. At Oriskany, halfway between the present cities of Rome and Utica, a shrewd old colonial Indian fighter, General Herkimer, defeated him as conclusively as the

French had routed General Braddock twenty-two years before. General Burgoyne had to fight his way through the dense unroaded forests of upper New York State, with New England militiamen harassing every mile of his progress, fighting in the hidden Indian manner. He got within twenty-five miles of Schenectady, near Saratoga. General Horatio Gates, the American commander, ably aided by Arnold, Morgan, and Schuyler, stopped his way here, and ultimately forced him to surrender, with his 6,000 picked troops.

This battle was the turning point of the Revolution. Sir Edward Creasy includes it among his *Fifteen Decisive Battles of the World*. Its results were not immediately apparent. Howe, left without instructions, finally sailed down to the "rebel capital," Philadelphia, and overcame Washington's determined resistance at Brandywine Creek and Germantown, ultimately capturing the chief American city. Philadelphia was full of Tories; and that winter of 1777-1778 was spent by the British in a triumphant round of balls and fêtes. Nearby, at Valley Forge, Washington's men were at the point of starvation, with desertions increasing, and the severity of the savage winter bringing the remaining troops almost to the point of despair.

The English war ministry began to see the situation more clearly. It was impossible to crush the elusive Washington, though he might be beaten in open battles. The whole campaign of dividing the South from New England had failed. New York, Philadelphia, Newport, the seaport towns, could be captured and held: but the main life of the Americans continued in the ample reaches of country apart from the seacoast. The powerful British merchants, who had opposed the punishing Stamp Act, and were only anxious for a resumption of their profitable trade with the colonies, had long brought pressure to bear on the government to make the war purely a naval one, with the destruction of the

American trade by a blockade, which would bring the colonies to their knees in submission. Lord North, baffled by the surrender of Burgoyne and the endlessness of the war, was allowed, early in 1778, to send a mission to the American Congress, offering terms of peace. He offered the colonists everything they had asked for since the first protest against the Stamp Act, if they would only lay down their arms and admit their British allegiance again.

A year before, the American Congress would probably have accepted this offer. But the European effects of Burgoyne's surrender had ended all chance of that. France, long England's enemy, had extended unofficial assistance to the battling Americans almost since the beginning of the war. Strategically she withheld her government sanction, until there seemed a reasonable prospect of success for the Americans. Saratoga turned the tide. In February, 1778, the French diplomats and the American agents signed treaties of alliance and commerce. This treaty of alliance, the only one ever made by the United States, bound each nation to continue the war with England, until both were ready to make peace.

The French alliance made the English situation a rather desperate one. The strongest European power was now aligned beside the struggling colonials. Men and money, both indispensable to the American cause, were furnished by the shrewd French. The French fleet sailed across the Atlantic, to lift the British blockade. John Paul Jones, dauntless sea fighter, was provided with a fleet of five vessels in France. He raised the new American flag at the masthead of his flagship, the *Bonhomme Richard*, and ventured to face the English frigates in their home waters. Spain allied itself to France, in the typical European fashion, primarily to regain Jamaica in the West Indies and the fortress of Gibraltar, that gate to the Mediterranean, which England had captured in previous warfare. The year following,

1780, Holland joined the European coalition against England, in order to end Britain's naval dominance, and destroy her empire. Saratoga brought these three punishing rivals into the field against the fumbling British.

THE WAR ON THE WESTERN FRONTIER

King George III's Proclamation Line of 1763 had forbidden the colonists from settling west of a line drawn along the crest of the Alleghenies. The hardy frontiersmen remembered that this vast western empire had been granted to the colonists in their first royal charters. They knew that only their conquest of the wilderness here could prevent a continuation of the dreadful Indian massacres, that were hatched beyond the mountain boundaries, to burst upon the valley settlers to the east. And so, from the start, they had begun to flout the king's line, confident that he was too far away to prevent their steady westward progress.

Before 1770, pioneers from the hinterlands of Pennsylvania, Virginia and the Carolinas had already begun to spread throughout the dense forests of the Ohio, Cumberland and Tennessee valleys. Daniel Boone, most famous of these frontiersmen, left his North Carolina home in 1769 to settle in "Kentucke," an Indian word meaning dark and bloody ground, so called because of its centuries of bloody Indian warfare, lying as it did on the middle ground between the north and the south. Before 1772, Virginia frontiersmen, captained by John Sevier and James Robertson, had settled on the Watauga River in the North Carolina mountains, west of the Appalachians.

The uprising of the Ottawas under Pontiac had been crushed in 1765, and in 1768 the Iroquois had surrendered their claim to the territory south of the Ohio River. But there were fierce Cherokees, Mingoes and Shawnees still in possession of the land, offering bitter opposition to every mile of the westward expansion. The very year of the First

Continental Congress, 1774, the Shawnee leader, Cornstalk, was met by the armed Virginia frontiersmen at the mouth of the Kanawha River, in the present state of West Virginia, and was decisively defeated. This freed the rich valleys of Kentucky from the threat of Indian dominance.

In November, 1776, at the very time that Washington's wearied troops were retreating across New Jersey toward the Delaware, the Cherokees descended suddenly on the flourishing settlements on the Watauga. The fight was bitter and bloody, but the Indian forces were almost exterminated. Thus the western foes were being faced and defeated, in frontier warfare, by determined American pioneer patriots, at the very time that the eastern armies were engaged in a life and death struggle with the huge power of the overseas homeland.

There were only a few hundred settlers in the pioneer lands west of the Alleghenies, at the outbreak of the Revolution. But they were even more democratic than the seaboard colonists, and were far more independent and patriotic. In 1775, in May, delegates from four tiny Kentucky settlements assembled in a clover field beneath a mighty elm, and legislated wisely for their young colony. A group of settlers in the center of Kentucky, when they heard the welcome news of the colonial resistance at Lexington, promptly named their little settlement Lexington. In the tiny towns along the Watauga, the patriotic pioneers were not nearly so indecisive in their attitude as the easterners were, at the beginning of the Revolution. Several months before the Declaration of Independence was officially adopted, they drummed the Tories out of their settlements in fierce glee. Kentucky, though still officially a county of Virginia, begged the Continental Congress to receive it as the fourteenth state in the Union. They sent a delegation to Patrick Henry, war governor of Virginia, offering that state the aid of "a respectable body of prime riflemen."

They were itching to do their share to eject the overseas tyrant.

One of these Kentucky delegates was a young Virginian named George Rogers Clark, barely past his twentieth birthday, who had joined the Kentucky settlements on the Ohio. He made his own plan of campaign, and proceeded to execute it in a startling manner. He had discovered, through spies, that the western Indians and the conquered French were less than tepid in their liking for their new English masters. In the latter months of 1777, he went down to Virginia, and laid his plans before Governor Patrick Henry. The governor, as well as Thomas Jefferson and other distinguished Virginia patriots, was heartily in favor of the far-visioned scheme. But all of Virginia's resources were being strained for the eastern seaboard warfare. The most that the state could do was to empower Clark to raise a force of 350 men, and to advance him \$1,200 in the depreciated currency, already so doubtful that the phrase "not worth a Continental" was coming into everyday speech.

It was not a huge grant, for a man setting out to conquer a region as large as New England, New York, and Pennsylvania rolled into one. But Clark would have persisted, even without it. He knew the backwoods as Howe knew the ballrooms of New York and Philadelphia. His small but infinitely efficient force made its way through the jungly forests, and first surprised the English forts at Kaskaskia and Cahokia, securing their surrender. He used all of his shrewdness in dealing with the restive Indians and the embittered French, and persuaded them to side with the young American republic.

Word came to him that the new British commander at Detroit, Colonel Hamilton, had captured the fort of Vincennes, on the Wabash River. Vincennes was more than two hundred miles away, with dreadful drowned lands interven-

ing. He set out for it at once. Part of the way, his frontiersmen had to struggle through icy water up to their chins. At times they went without food. But nothing could daunt him. He surprised the astounded Hamilton, and forced him to an immediate and unconditional surrender. This ended British power north of the Ohio.

WINNING THE WAR

The threat of an attack by a French fleet was too much for the English, comfortably ensconced in Philadelphia. After many consultations, in the summer of 1778 the British forces fell back to New York, which they could defend with far more ease. On the way, they were almost defeated at the battle of Monmouth by the American forces. But General Charles Lee, who had been jealous of Washington's position as commander-in-chief since the beginning of the war, and had long intrigued for the post himself, treacherously ordered a retreat instead of a charge, and the English escaped from Washington's trap. The patient American commander at once sent Lee into the disgrace he had deserved so long.

At the end of 1778, the English found themselves without a plan of campaign. They had failed to separate the South from the North, and they knew that anti-British sentiment in the North had always been strong, and was becoming increasingly so. The South had been the home of a large Tory sentiment from the beginning. The rich planters, members of the Church of England, and long supporters of the Stuart cause, were by no means a unit in alliance with the uncertain fortunes of the ragged Continental army, for all that it was commanded by a Virginian. The Southerners, except for their resentment at British treatment of the tobacco trade, were inclined to be friendly with the English government; they and their sons had been educated at English universities, and they felt that they could find proper

social contacts only on the other side of the Atlantic. English traditions of loyalty were far more rooted among them than in the yeomen and tradesmen of the North. Gentlemen did not fight about money matters, anyhow: there must be some amicable way of arranging such disputes over a bowl of negus.

The English decided to march South, and capitalize this strong Tory sentiment. At the close of 1778, Sir Henry Clinton appeared in the South, in the endeavor to wean these states from the American cause. He met with a friendly reception on many sides, and actually enrolled more than 2,000 Loyalists in his army in the Carolinas and Georgia. Like the English Civil War of 1642-1649, this situation developed into a real civil war, with families divided in their allegiance, and father fighting son, or brother fighting brother.

Even here, the British developed no plan of campaign. They desired to overawe the countryside. They marched wherever the sentiment was friendliest, from the coast to the interior and back again; and they never omitted any place where sentiment was said to be in their favor, and volunteers might be secured. There was no organized opposition to them, much of the time. But guerilla leaders, like Sumter, Pickens, and Marion, "the swamp fox", harassed all of their movements with much success.

In December, 1778, the British captured Savannah, and at once put a royal governor back over the colony. Two years later, they captured Charleston, the other leading Southern port. In the interior of South Carolina, they were opposed by General Horatio Gates, the conqueror at Saratoga. But Gates, at Saratoga, had really won his reputation through the reckless bravery of his three chief under-officers. He joined battle with the British at Camden, South Carolina, was defeated, and fled from the field. General Nathanael Greene, one of the outstanding military heroes

of the war, took his place, and at once stiffened American morale. Five months after Camden, in January, 1781, he defeated the English at Cowpens, and two months later, at Guilford, fought brilliantly. Slowly, with the aid of General Morgan, Greene regained the interior of the Carolinas from the English.

Clinton turned his command of the British army in the South to Lord Cornwallis. At King's Mountain, on the border between South Carolina and North Carolina, a thousand shrewd Indian fighters, from Tennessee, Georgia, Virginia and the Carolinas, surprised and captured a force of 1,200 Tory soldiers. These were under the command of Colonel Ferguson, who had been sent by Cornwallis to clear the frontier guerillas out of the Carolina uplands, and permit an easy march north into Virginia.

In Virginia, Marquis de Lafayette, a noble young French volunteer who came over to aid the American cause long before his country allied itself with us, guarded the state, with a small army. Lafayette was only one among eleven foreign major generals who had joined the colonial cause, through devotion to liberty. Baron de Kalb, who had been with Washington since the tense campaign of 1776, was another of these. He lost his life fighting valiantly at the 1780 defeat of Camden. Another important European addition was Baron Steuben, a veteran Prussian general, who was one of Washington's chief drillmasters. Two Polish patriots, Kosciusko and Pulaski fought valiantly, Kosciusko throughout the whole war, and Pulaski until he was wounded to death in 1779, during the British attack on Savannah.

BENEDICT ARNOLD, TRAITOR

Benedict Arnold, fourth in descent from a like-named colonial governor of Rhode Island, had had a stormy career throughout the war. His brilliant Quebec expedition

brought him court-martial on a false charge of dishonesty. He commanded the first American fleet, on Lake Champlain, with courage and brilliance. He was slighted by Congress in the appointment of major generals, and Gates did his best to rob him of his real credit in winning the decisive victory of Saratoga. In command at Philadelphia in 1778, he married the daughter of a Tory; and was again court-martialled out of personal animosity for no cause. Conditions like this moved throughout the American army, during the whole wearing strain of the Revolutionary period. Before his exoneration on all but two minor charges, Arnold, burning with a long sense of mistreatment, entered into secret correspondence with Clinton to join the British forces. The unfair verdict drove him frantic, and he conceived a plot to betray some important post to England.

He easily secured appointment from Washington over West Point, the key to the Hudson Valley. He met Clinton's adjutant-general, Major John André, near Stony Point, and arranged for the betrayal. André was captured with incriminating papers while returning, and was hanged as a spy. Arnold escaped to a British warship in the Hudson, and was appointed a brigadier general in Clinton's army, in charge of the troops in Virginia. In the summer of 1781, Cornwallis marched up from the South and joined him, and the two of them proceeded to fortify a position at Yorktown, on the peninsula between the York and the James River. It was, they were sure, the safest position in the state, with only a narrow front to guard, and with water on both sides as well as behind them. And the English navy controlled the water. They sat down to wait for reinforcements from New York.

The idle time gave Arnold an opportunity to reflect on the odium with which his conduct was regarded by his fellow-Americans, and to sense the covert distrust of the English who had given him his thirty pieces of silver. If he

had betrayed one side, he read in their eyes, he might betray the other. Men hate a traitor. Every now and then some one would mention Nathan Hale, the young Connecticut school teacher who had been captured within the British lines disguised as a Dutch school-teacher, and had been hanged for it. "He was a man," men would say in Benedict Arnold's presence. "'My only regret is that I have but one life to give for my country'. . . . Or Major André, who lived and died like a hero. Yes, they were men." It was all hard to bear. It would have been harder, if Benedict Arnold could have seen his last years in England, jeered at for his treachery. He died in his old colonial uniform, with the epaulets and sword knot presented to him by Washington after his victory at Saratoga. In the great monument on Saratoga battlefield, three of the four corner niches are filled with colossal statues of Gates, Morgan, and Schuyler. The fourth will remain forever empty, while Americans remember the disgruntled genius who betrayed them.

Lord Cornwallis stirred himself at last, and began to harass the state of Virginia, protected only by the thin brave line under Lafayette. And always the eyes of Cornwallis and Arnold were cast to sea, watching for the British fleet that was to bring them the reinforcements needed to resume major operations. One day the horizon skyline was broken by masts and lifting sails. Only when they had come near did the unbelieving English and once-American eyes realize that the French flag flew at the masthead. For this was the fleet of De Grasse, which had trounced the English off the mouth of Chesapeake Bay, and had on board three thousand French troops, which were promptly landed on the little peninsula.

And now Cornwallis and Arnold were trapped by their own small cleverness, with French fleet and troops behind, and American soldiers under Lafayette in front, and no escape. Washington, with an uncanny sense of turning up at

the right place at the right time, by forced march led 2000 Americans and 4000 Frenchmen from the Hudson River to the York River—for by this time the number of French soldiers in America had grown large. He joined at once with Lafayette, and effectively penned the English general between the James and the York, on the little strip of perilous land.

The English general did not give up. He made one brave attempt to break through the cordon. It held. On October 19, 1781, Lord Cornwallis surrendered his army of 7000 men and officers as prisoners of war. The war was over. The British attempt to make slaves of English colonists had failed. Their armies had been overwhelmed in the North, and had met with only disaster in the friendlier South. They abandoned all the posts they held in America, except New York, and withdrew to the West Indies. Here they met and overwhelmed a great French fleet, and at least held on to all the West Indian islands except Martinique and Guadeloupe. But they had lost the continent, and the potentially richest empire in the world.



Cornwallis Surrenders

CHAPTER IX

PEACE, AND THE ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION

THE PEACE NEGOTIATIONS

LORD NORTH, at least, knew what the news from Yorktown meant. When he learned of the complete surrender of Lord Cornwallis, he threw up his hands and cried out, "My God! It is all over." The stubborn German king, ruling his alien English subjects, was not so ready to admit that his own insistent policy of force had been wrecked. To him, the welfare of the British Empire depended on the achievement of his short-sighted and tyrannical policies. He thundered pettishly at his prime minister, and said that, if England gave up the struggle, he was through with it; he would resign the British crown, and retire to his ancient Hanoverian acres in Germany.

But all of this was wasted breath. The nation was sick of the sycophantic dishonest "King's Friends," as the royalist party was called—a group held together by what George III had blandly called his "golden pills," that is, by rich gifts and sinecures. Early in 1782, the king was forced to remove his premier, and permit the Whigs to return to power. The new cabinet was all out of sympathy with the king, and was determined to have its way. The king was powerless. In April, 1782, the new premier, Lord Shelburne, sent a diplomatic agent to Paris, to inform the American minister to France, Benjamin Franklin, that England was prepared to discuss the peace terms.

The United States, by its 1778 alliance with France, had pledged itself not to make a separate peace with England, as France had also pledged; but that the two nations must make peace together, when both were ready. The French had persuaded Spain to enter the war, on their promise to restore to Spain Jamaica, which Oliver Cromwell's fleet had captured in 1655, and the fortress of Gibraltar, which the English had taken in 1704. The Franco-American coalition had succeeded completely in vanquishing the English on the Atlantic seaboard, and thus rendering sure the independence of the United States. The Franco-Spanish coalition had failed. England was still supreme on the sea, and her overseas empire was intact.

And now the ministers of the young United States had their first independent contact with the dishonest intrigues of European diplomacy. Somehow the American diplomats in Paris got wind of what the sly French were preparing to do. They had persuaded Spain to enter the war, on some assurance of Spanish benefit from it. That benefit had failed. Apparently it meant more to France to woo the continuing good graces of Spain, than to keep her pledges to the young United States. In fact, John Jay, one of the American commissioners in Paris, believed that French jealousy of the possibilities of American strength played a part in their conduct. He wrote from Paris,

This court is interested in separating us from Great Britain, but it is not their interest that we should become a great and formidable people.

He may merely have imagined this jealousy, in the feeling of cocksure arrogance which the astonishing victory over England, in the face of almost unbelievable odds, had given to every American.

He did not have to imagine the facts as to what France planned. France spread them on the record before him. Somehow the American commissioners got hold of a map

prepared by Vergennes, foreign minister of France, and later Chief of the Council of Finance—the astute enemy of England who had engineered the Franco-American alliance of 1777. It divided the territory conquered by the young United States as follows:

1. The United States limited to the old strip between the Alleghenies and the Atlantic, as provided for in the detested Proclamation Line of 1763 of George III.
2. Territory beyond this line, and north of the Ohio, was to be returned to England, who still held Canada. The map indicated this as Indian territory, whose ownership was to be settled in the future between the United States and England.
3. Less than half of the strip south of the Ohio was to be Indian territory, under United States protection.
4. More than half of the territory south of the Ohio was to be Indian territory, under Spanish protection.

The United States, acting through Boone, Sevier, Robertson, and George Rogers Clark, had conquered the last three territories, and held them, as a pledge of the future westward greatness of the country. The French plan was to rob the United States of these, for the benefit of England, defeated on land but still dominant on the sea, and France's disappointed ally Spain.

The American commissioners did not forget what we owed to France. She had contributed men, and ships, and money—through hatred of England, of course, and not through love of liberty or America. And yet, in the hour of great need, she had furnished these, no matter her motive. The American fight for independence would probably have collapsed, without this all-needed aid. The Continental Congress had done its best to raise the essential finances by

treaty was in the hands of the Whigs, who had been friendly to the young United States throughout the war. The treaty provided for:

1. The complete independence of the United States of America.
2. The extension of its boundaries westward to the Mississippi River.

There was some discussion over the next point. The first two had been won by the United States by force of arms; the next one they merely desired, as a ratification of ancient custom indulged in by the fishing interests of New England. But England offered no prolonged difficulties, and finally granted:

3. The privilege of sharing in the Newfoundland fisheries.

This left two unsettled matters, which for a time threatened to upset the negotiations: the matter of debts due by colonists to English merchants before the war; and the proper treatment to be accorded to American Loyalists, or Tories. The American Congress had a deficit, rather than funds. It had no authority to use the funds held by the individual states. The British ministry demanded some guarantee that these debts would be paid. Congress had no means with which to guarantee anything. John Adams told William Pitt, rather indignantly, that the Americans had no idea of cheating anybody. But Pitt rightly concluded that this might be Adams's opinion, but was hardly a negotiable guarantee. There seemed no way out of this stalemate. England decided it in her own fashion. Without telling the Americans of their plan, they determined to retain in their possession the valuable fur-trading posts scattered along the Great Lakes from Oswego to Mackinac, until the last farthing was paid.

The matter of the Tories was not so easy of solution. Tens of thousands of American colonists had remained

loyal to the mother country, and had obstructed the war in every way possible, even though the battling colonists regarded this as treason, once the Declaration of Independence had been formally announced. Some of these had been motivated by business shrewdness and prudence, sure that a war would spell general disorder and business ruin. Others had been held by a real affection for the homeland, confident that Grenville's cocksure blunder and Townshend's ill-natured oppression could somehow be straightened out, without severing the colonial ties that bound them to the mother country.

The more outspoken of the Tories had denounced the Continental Congress unrestrainedly as a hodgepodge of quarrelsome pettifogging lawyers and mechanics. When the Declaration put them in the embarrassing position of traitors, they flocked to join the British standard. These Tories had sacrificed property and good name in America, to respond to the king's appeal to all loyal citizens to put down the rebellion in America. The British commissioners saw that to abandon these in the moment of American triumph would be unfair and the worst of sportsmanship. It determined that the Tories must be reimbursed somehow for their losses. It made two proposals—either that Congress restore the confiscated estates, valued at at least \$20,000,000; or should square matters by ceding to the Tories the lands north of the Ohio, which George Rogers Clark had won for the young nation.

The Americans did not look so kindly on the Tories. They had steadily jeered and giped at the American cause and all it stood for. They had thrown mud at the character of Washington and his advisers and aids. They had constantly worked to secure desertions in the American army, and mutinies. They had actually donned the hated red-coated uniform of the oppressors. In the dark winter of 1776, when Washington was vainly begging the New Jer-

sey farmers to sell him food to keep his soldiers from actual starvation, the rich Tory squires of the state were selecting the cream of their crops to sell at good prices to Lord Howe, to keep the invaders strong and aggressive. They could not forget how, in the darker winter of Valley Forge that followed, when daily desertions were more numerous than gains by recruiting throughout all the colonies, the Tory drawing-rooms of Philadelphia were thrown open to gay parties in honor of the murderous oppressors. The new country faced a debt of \$50,000,000; why should it be called upon to reimburse the "detestable parricides," to use Washington's thoughtful phrase, who had labored with all their might to make the whole noble Revolution a failure?

But the sentiment of the English was always bound to the problems of the young nation. The American commissioners promised that Congress would recommend to the states the restitution of the property of those Tories who had not actually taken up arms against the United States; and that it would not oppose the collection of honest debts due to British merchants. The British government itself did its best for the more active Tories, granting them land in Canada and large pensions.

On April 18, 1783, eight years to the day after the minutemen of Lexington faced the musketfire of the British regulars, General George Washington proclaimed hostilities formally at an end. He persuaded his men and officers to go to their homes without a penny in their pockets, promising them that the new government was sure to reward them as richly as they deserved. The final articles of peace were signed on September 3 of the same year. On the 25th of November, the last of the regular British army in America sailed out of New York harbor. A few days later, Washington gave his officers a farewell banquet at Fraunces' Tavern, in New York City, and mounted his horse for the return to his Virginia mansion at Mount Vernon on the

banks of the Potomac. He said that his only wish thereafter was—

to glide gently down the stream of time until he rested with his fathers.

But the country still had ample need of him; and he was never backward, in a moment of need.

THE ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION

The end of the war meant the disappearance of a whole army of parasitic English officials—royal governors, councilors, judges, customs officers, and royal agents of every variety. Their places were to be taken by men selected by the people of the new states—public representatives, not public oppressors. This called for the creation of a whole new machinery of government. The peace terms had turned over to the young nation a western empire more than double the size of the seaboard colonies. This land was largely unsettled and almost completely without political organization, since it did not even have American settlers through most of its area. This unpeopled empire must be developed and settled; and a government must be devised thereafter for it. These were the two major problems that confronted the young nation, when the English overlords at last sailed away.

For the first thirteen years of its national existence, our country was governed by a Congress, without other officials. This period stretched from July 2, 1776, when the resolution for independence was passed, to the inauguration of Washington as the first president, on March 4, 1789. The Congress consisted of from two to seven delegates, selected by the assemblies of the various states. Until just before the actual military ending of the war with Cornwallis' surrender at Yorktown, this Congress had no stated legal authority, or written constitution. After all, England exists without a written constitution to the present day; it is not

surprising that the young nation managed to get along without one.

The Congress was not without direction in its actions. Its members regarded themselves as ambassadors from their home states, and looked to their home states for instructions as to how they should proceed, on any important matter. If the instructions were tardy, they went ahead and acted, and asked for an indorsement of their actions afterwards. The states were regarded as all-important; the national government, a mere clearing-house for state opinions.

And yet, in the emergency, they went ahead and acted, as they were sure their states would favor. They raised an army, and set officers over it. They assessed the states for its expenses. They announced that the colonies were independent of England, a nation, and colonies no longer. They borrowed money at home on the credit of the new government, and borrowed as much abroad as they could on the same credit. They entered into treaties of commerce and alliance with France. It was the strain of the national emergency that permitted all this, and insured prompt approval from the state assemblies. The moment the English menace was over, something more was needed, to combat the decentralizing and properly selfish attitudes of the varying states.

In 1754, at the Albany convention called by the governors of Virginia and Massachusetts for the discussion of better intercolonial relations, Benjamin Franklin had proposed the famous Albany Plan of Colonial Union, providing for a grand council selected by the colonies, and a president general to be chosen by the king. This failed of adoption, being opposed both by the colonial legislatures and by the royal governors. On July 21, 1775, Franklin proposed to the Continental Congress a draft of "Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union"—and this was almost a year before the Declaration of Independence was

passed. But the sentiment in the Continental Congress was still in favor of smoothing out the difficulties with England. They had bitter memories of English attempts to unite groups of the colonies, as when in 1686 the last Stuart monarch, James II, united all the colonies from Nova Scotia to Delaware Bay under harsh Sir Edmund Andros—an attempt ended by the Glorious Revolution of 1689, when Andros was captured and jailed and so sent back to England.

Franklin had merely been ahead of his times, in both instances. When the Declaration of Independence became a fact, it was clear that some sort of colonial union was inevitable—especially since the Declaration had spoken of its makers as the Representatives of the United States of America. There could not be a United States without some sort of union. Accordingly, a committee of thirteen delegates, headed by John Dickinson of Pennsylvania, was chosen to prepare Articles of Confederation. These were ultimately submitted, and were adopted by Congress in November, 1777. These required the assent of all the states. It was more than three years before the last one, Maryland, fell into line. They became the law of the country on March 1, 1781.

THE PROBLEM OF THE WESTERN LANDS

The delay was caused by a very serious problem. Certain states, including Maryland, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey, had their western boundaries fixed by their charters. Six of the states claimed to the Mississippi, and even to the Pacific, by the grandiloquent "sea to sea" wording of their original grants. This was true of Massachusetts, Connecticut, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia; and most of all of Virginia. Her claims overlapped those of the two New England States. More than that, it was a Virginian, George Rogers Clark, who had actually conquered

the huge region north of the Ohio River, operating under a commission from Governor Patrick Henry of Virginia. New York, under a treaty it had made in 1768 with the Iroquois Indians, also set up a claim to part of this same territory.

The limited states, who had served side by side with the others in the winning of independence, saw no reason why these lucky states should have room for imperial expansion, while their own territories were cabined and confined by their ancient charters. There was a practical reason why they desired western lands: and that was, to use them to pay their military veterans of the Revolution. And so Maryland led the way in demanding, before she would unite under the Articles of Confederation, that the states claiming the western regions should surrender all of them to the newly created national government, to be held as part of the national domain.

New York, in 1781, set an example to the other colonies, by agreeing to surrender its western claims. In 1784 Virginia, with a far more undisputed title to much of the territory, surrendered it. All of the other states involved except Georgia followed suit promptly; Georgia, troubled by the Spanish menace to the South, holding on to her claim to extend to the Mississippi until 1802. This settlement of the vexing problem gave the United States an immensely valuable territory, which could be sold off piecemeal to pay off the Revolutionary War debt; and which could ultimately be used for the formation of new states. The Maryland policy was of incalculable benefit to the young nation, in giving it the first essential of national power, lands and potential wealth.

GOVERNMENT UNDER THE ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION

The Articles of Confederation was a definite first step toward the knitting together of a compact and powerful

nation. But it was at most one third of a government—a legislature; lacking both an executive (a president and his armed forces) and the judicial. For thirteen years, our government managed to get along without a president, and without judges. But it did not get along well, during this period.

It announced a firm league of friendship of the thirteen states, joined together into a perpetual union; but firm friendship cannot take the place of effective organization, either in private business affairs or the conduct of a government. Congress had no power to tax: and a government can no more run without funds than an automobile without gasoline. Congress was not empowered to control commerce; and this is essential to a modern government, where the protection of private property and commerce are vital functions of the governing body. The Articles of Confederation granted powers to Congress; but they failed to grant the authority necessary to carry out the powers.

The opening of the Articles stated that—

Each state retained its sovereignty, freedom, and independence.

It is impossible to form a stable government, without a mutual surrender of at least a part of the rights of sovereignty, freedom and independence. No national law can be of force, if each state has its individual right of veto over it, based upon its complete sovereignty and independence. The whole document rings with the unwillingness on the part of the states to surrender any of their sovereign rights and powers.

Congress had power to pay the war debts, and proceeded to pledge the faith of the United States for this payment. It was powerless to carry out this pledge. It had no power to demand one cent from any citizen of the country. It had no machinery to collect a cent from individual citizen or state. It could only make requisitions on the states, like

quotas assigned to cities in a modern charity drive; and these requisitions were met only in slight part, or were ignored completely. Gouverneur Morris, a brilliant delegate to the Congress from New York, described the government under the Articles of Confederation aptly as a "government by supplication".

Take 1781-1782 as a typical year. The required budget for the year was \$9,000,000. Congress managed a foreign loan, which met \$4,000,000 of this sum. She requisitioned the thirteen states for the remaining \$5,000,000. After twelve months delay, about \$450,000 had been actually paid in. Delaware, South Carolina and Georgia had not contributed one cent. Year by year the condition grew worse, with the government needing and spending millions, and receiving an ever lessening number of thousands from the states. There was danger that it would establish its bankruptcy, by inability to pay even the interest on the mounting public debt. It had hardly enough revenue, as one of the delegates sharply observed,

to buy stationery for its clerks, or pay the salary of a doorkeeper.

The young government had accepted the responsibilities of defending the country from its enemies, of maintaining its financial credit at home and abroad, of keeping order at home, of securing national friendships abroad. All of these took money, and no means of securing money had been furnished. Colonial jealousy of centralized power had been largely responsible for this crippling of the new government they set up. They had carried this too far. Their government, without a president, national courts to punish offenders against national laws, an efficient army, an efficient navy, a machinery of taxation, a control of commerce, a check on such state activities as indiscriminate issuance of paper money, was about as powerful as a village debating society.

It did not take the European nations long to appraise this amazing weakness, and to act upon it. England, contrary to the peace treaty of 1783, held blandly on to the fur-trading posts in the Northwest. Sure that the wearied states would not be able to unite against her, she sealed up the profitable American trade with the nearby British West Indies. The French minister in Paris shrugged to Jefferson that it was impossible to regard such a powerless Congress as a government. The Spanish governor of New Orleans approached the western pioneers, and offered them the freedom of the Mississippi, if they would accept the flag of Spain and throw off their allegiance to the powerless government back east. The merchants of Amsterdam and elsewhere, who had made loans to the new government, were increasingly uneasy that they would never even see the interest on their loans. The Mohammedan pirates centered in the Barbary States, on the northern African coasts of the Mediterranean, levied blackmail on every American vessel that appeared in the Mediterranean. The government was powerless, and was forced to sit idly by and watch American rights violated and American honesty impugned at home and abroad.

A powerless government inevitably breeds anarchy. In the glow and fervor of the common struggle for independence, the colonists had been content to forget that they were Virginians or Pennsylvanians, and had been proud to boast that they were Americans, of a united people. Now that the outside pressure was removed, they resumed their selfish state labels, and fought to preserve and increase the individuality of each state. After all, their interests differed materially, in religion, in social standing and customs, in their character as primarily agricultural or commercial and industrial. They were long used to fighting British government officials; they transferred this spirit to the weaker American officials. Trade and travel between colony and

colony were still at a minimum; this too tended to divorce them from each other.

Decentralization grew alarmingly. States began to erect tariff walls against each other; and when one state was bested in a tariff conflict, it often refused to pay its contribution to the common Congress. The farmers of New Hampshire and New York, in a boundary dispute, took to the warpath like feathered Indians, burning each other's houses and indulging in fatal ambushes. When the Indians of the Wyoming Valley rose against the New Englanders, the Pennsylvanians stood idly by and saw the redskins pillage and ravish, regarding the New Englanders as alien intruders. The debtor class was growing, in all of the states. Its growing complaints and threats caused frightened state legislatures to issue more and more worthless paper money, in an effort to pacify them; and Congress had no power to prevent this. Frantic financial legislation almost brought the prosperous town of Newport to the edge of bankruptcy, and Congress could do nothing. Daniel Shays, a former Revolutionary captain, led a mob of a thousand and a half of the debtor class against the courthouse at Worcester, and forced it to close its doors. He then marched against the Arsenal at Springfield, in 1786 and 1787. The state authorities put down this rebellion; Congress had to stand by and do nothing.

Powerlessness breeds scorn on the part of those who behold it. When they realized that their efforts in Congress were futile, the leading statesmen of the country resigned their posts as delegates, to sit as governors or judges in their home states. There should have been ninety-one delegates, since each state was entitled to seven, irrespective of its size. It was an unusual occurrence when more than one-fourth of these were present at any one time. For long intervals, the more distant states went entirely unrepresented in the futile debating society. In 1783, when Commander-

in-Chief Washington waited by appointment upon Congress to surrender his command of the army, and receive the solemn gratitude of his liberated countrymen at the hands of their elected national representatives, not ninety-one, but a bare twenty, were on hand to receive him. For the important ratification of the peace treaty with England, the ensuing month, only twenty-three were present. Between October, 1788, and April, 1789, there were not enough members on hand to constitute a quorum. The nation was literally without any government during these six months.

THE NORTHWEST ORDINANCE

The national government, under the Articles of Confederation, did achieve one signal act of wise legislation. The great western region between the Great Lakes and the Ohio River, ceded to the government by the joint action of Virginia, New York, Connecticut and Massachusetts, was finally organized by the national Congress into the Northwest Territory, by an act passed the 13th of July, 1787. This act provided that, until the population increased sufficiently to justify representative government, the territory should be governed by a governor and three judges. Still moved by the idealistic mood that had given birth to the Declaration of Independence, it provided for the following:

1. Complete political liberty.
2. Complete religious liberty.
3. Free public education.
4. Perpetual exclusion of slavery from the territory.

It provided further that from three to five states were ultimately to be carved out of the vast domain—and, much later, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and a tip of Minnesota, were formed.

Before 1788, the Ohio Company sent out colonists from Massachusetts, who settled Marietta in what is now southern Ohio, and the Northwest Ordinance formally began to

function. This first extension of territory carried with it the assurance that the principles of freedom and self-government should follow the flag, which should forever float over a race of free and self-governing men and women.



Surveying the Northwest Territory

CHAPTER X

'THE MAKING OF THE CONSTITUTION

THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

WITHIN one month after the Articles of Confederation began their feeble functioning, young James Madison of Virginia proposed, in early 1781, that they be strengthened to give the government—

full authority to employ force by sea as well as by land to compel any delinquent state to fulfill its federal obligations.

Washington shrewdly diagnosed the weakness of the central authority, the Congress, and issued a circular letter to the governors of the several states, the year of the peace with England, which stated:

There should be lodged somewhere a supreme power, to regulate the general concerns of the Confederated Republic, without which this Union cannot be of long duration.

The next year, he wrote:

I predict the worst consequences for a half-starved limping government, almost moving on crutches, and tottering at every step.

It was from Virginia that these voices came. For Virginia leaned much less toward the insistence on individualism than the more democratic states of New England, and took the weakness of the central government far more to heart than the remote South or the commercial lords of New York. The Congress itself implicitly announced its

inability to manage properly the government, without machinery of governing, by supporting a proposal for a convention of delegates from all thirteen states, called together to revise the weak Articles of Confederation.

The suggestion arose out of a dispute over the commercial control of the Potomac River. Maryland and Virginia both claimed it, and George Washington, naturally looked up to as a suitable mediator, assembled commissioners from these two states at his home at Mount Vernon in 1785, hoping that they could settle the matter. The deliberations brought out the fact that both Pennsylvania and Delaware were also interested in the matter, and the delegates from Virginia proposed that a convention be held at Annapolis, Maryland, the next year, to which all the states were to be invited to send delegates; this convention to discuss not merely the commerce on the Potomac, but the whole commercial interests of the country. By now, with foreign oppression and war over, and the debtor class growling at home, the monied classes were beginning to see the necessity for a strengthened central government, or some general state policy of control of commerce that would protect all of them.

Five states sent delegates to the 1786 Annapolis convention. The New Jersey delegation had been instructed to discuss "the commercial problem and other important matters." A brilliant young lawyer from New York, Alexander Hamilton, who had been Washington's confidential aide during much of the war, was struck by these words, and urged that a convention of all the states be assembled in Philadelphia the next year, to revise the Articles of Confederation thoroughly. Six states approved the plan and named delegates before Congress had expressed its approval. In the end, every state but Rhode Island joined the convention. This tiny state was afraid that selfish national control would wreck its thriving commerce, and sensed that a rep-

resentation based upon population would completely overshadow it; and so it sent no delegates to the convention.

The Continental Congress which passed the Declaration of Independence had been composed mainly of the patriotic firebrands who felt most keenly the oppressions of England, and desired most of all liberty and independence. These had been won; but, without a strong central government, they had turned out to be of uncertain value. The group who gathered in Independence Hall in Philadelphia in May, 1787, represented the influential citizens who felt that the security and stability of the country depended upon a strengthened central government. The former motives had been liberty and independence; the present ones were security and stability. Both groups achieved their motives.

Patrick Henry of Virginia, and Samuel Adams of Massachusetts, those ardent patriots who had done so much to rouse the colonies to resistance in the early Revolutionary days, were opposed to any strengthening of the national government, and refused to sit as delegates in the convention. John Adams and Thomas Jefferson were across the seas, representing the United States at the courts of St. James and France. John Jay was busied as foreign secretary to Congress. Except for these five noteworthy leaders, most of the leaders of American thought of the day were members of the convention. The Virginia delegation was the most outstanding, with Washington, James Madison, John Randolph, and Mason among it. Pennsylvania sent the wise old veteran Benjamin Franklin, the financier Robert Morris, and brilliant Gouverneur Morris. New York had the fiery conservative Alexander Hamilton as its leading spirit; Delaware sent John Dickinson; South Carolina, John Rutledge and Charles Pinckney of the distinguished Pinckney family; Connecticut, Roger Sherman and Oliver Ellsworth; Massachusetts, Rufus King and Elbridge Gerry. Except for Washington, Revolutionary generals were conspicuous by

their absence. Members of this convention were selected by the state legislatures, and it is not these bodies but direct election of the people that tends to elevate military heroes to the highest positions, as occurred so often later in our history.

Washington was chosen president of the convention, since all bowed to him as "first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen", the natural mediator for all disputed questions. Over much opposition, it was decided to have the sessions entirely secret, to permit greater frankness of discussion. The meetings lasted from May 25, 1787, to September 17th. James Madison, an extremely plodding and efficient statesman, each night wrote out in his journal a digest of everything that had occurred during the day, even the digests of speeches on both sides of every question. He outlived all of his fellow members, and fifty years later, at his death, his surviving widow sold this journal and other Madison papers to Congress for \$30,000. It was published in 1840 at Washington, and gives us an invaluable light on the actual making of the Constitution under which we now live.

COMPROMISES IN THE CONSTITUTION

The delegates had assembled, empowered to amend the Articles of Confederation. But the far-seeing leaders of thought in the country had long realized that no mere amendments would be enough; that what was needed was a drastic revision of the whole document, and an alteration of the whole government in the direction of a strongly centralized governing body. The Virginia delegation came prepared with their Virginia Plan, which entirely remodeled the government. This provided for three independent departments of government, the legislative, the executive, and the judicial. The legislative branch was to have two chambers or houses—following the English system of Com-

mons and Lords—a House of Representatives elected by the people, and a Senate elected by the House of Representatives. An analysis of this reveals how far-reaching a change it proposed. It put an end to the whole idea of a confederation of states, and proposed to have the legislative body elected, directly and indirectly, by the people as a whole, rather than by the various state legislatures.

This, of course, was a plan sure to find favor with the more populous states, and to be looked at askance by the smaller states; for it would put a large premium upon mere numbers of population, ignoring the previous independence of even the smallest state. The small states muttered and seethed, and soon settled their support upon a counter proposition introduced by one of the New Jersey delegates, Governor Paterson. This plan too called for an executive and a judicial department, and, like the other, it gave Congress the power to raise taxes, and to control commerce, a matter uppermost in the minds of many of the delegates. But the legislative department was not to represent the people of the nation as a whole, but was to represent the individual states; and each state, no matter its size, was to have the same number of legislators. Rhode Island would still have as large a voice as New York or Virginia in this reconstructed government. It would be a strengthened edition of the existing form, but would continue primarily a confederation, rather than a nation.

There were right wingists, who had come intending only to amend; and, as soon as they found that the vast majority of the delegates had determined to alter the whole nature of the government, they quietly packed up and returned to their several homes. There was a strong left wing, led by Alexander Hamilton, of New York, who desired practically an American monarchy—and it was no secret that he had in mind George Washington as its first head. According to his plan, the chief executive and the sen-

ators were to hold office for life, somewhat like the English system of king and lords, but without the hereditary feature of English government. Hamilton went further, and proposed to give this executive the right to veto state laws, a feature also in the Virginia plan, but also the right to name and remove state governors. If this plan had carried, America would have been governed by a strong national government and subordinate departments or shires functioning under it, and questions of states' rights would not have arisen to plague subsequent history even down to today.

The right wing had departed, and the left wing found small support among the delegates. The struggle between the Virginia Plan, favored by the large states, and the New Jersey Plan, espoused by the smaller ones, seemed insoluble. The former group announced that they would never submit to seeing the will of a large majority of the people of the country wrecked by the selfish opposition of one or two small states, as had so often happened under the Articles of Confederation. The latter group were as firm in declaring that they had come as representatives of their states, and that they would bow to no system which swallowed up the integrity and independence of these independent political units.

But all the delegates had met to achieve a distinct purpose, security and stability for the government. There were many among them, especially the veterans Benjamin Franklin, Roger Sherman, and John Dickinson, and the methodical compromiser James Madison, who was the essence of courtesy and insistence in debate, who engineered in the end compromises fairly satisfactory to both schools of thought. For his labors toward this end, Madison has been called the "Father of the Constitution." The Virginia and New Jersey Plans were compromised by providing for a lower house, the House of Representatives, elected accord-

ing to the Virginia Plan, by the popular vote of the people of the whole nation; and for an upper house, the Senate, elected according to the New Jersey Plan, with equality of representation among all the states, irrespective of population. Thus today Nevada, with its 91,000 population, has as many senators as New York, with twelve and a half million; but Nevada, along with Arizona, Delaware, New Mexico, Vermont, and Wyoming, has only one representative, while California has 20; Texas, 21; Ohio, 24; Illinois, 27; Pennsylvania, 34; and New York, 45. By the principle of no taxation without representation, the House of Representatives, elected by the people in proportion to the population, was to have the sole right to initiate taxation bills, and thus would have the control of the purse-strings.

Virginia and the other Southern States had their own axes to grind, with regard to matters local to themselves, or in which they had especially suffered from English oppression. First of all, they desired that their slaves, although these were not legally to be recognized as citizens, should be counted along with the citizens, in determining the number of representatives a state was entitled to have in the House of Representatives. There was already a growing opposition to the institution of human slavery, as the 1787 Northwest Ordinance had established; and at this time it is true that every leading Southern statesman, without exception, was in favor of some form of gradual emancipation of the slaves, and an end of slavery. And yet, slaves were their livelihood, until the condition was changed; and so they demanded that Congress be forbidden forever to interfere with the slave trade. Lastly, Virginia had suffered grievously from the English policy of restricting the shipment of tobacco to England, and from other tariff regulations, which made her buy manufactured products dear and sell raw materials cheap. So she proposed that a two-thirds vote of the House of Representatives should be

required to pass any tariff law—confident that she could always assemble a Southern bloc of more than one-third of the members, to insist upon no further damage by high tariffs.

Now that the main compromise had been arrived at, one by one these minor matters were settled to the satisfaction of all. In spite of the fact that there was no more logical reason why non-citizens, such as slaves, should be included in the population, any more than the livestock of the North, the Southern delegations were strong enough to have inserted in the Constitution a provision that three-fifths of the total number of slaves should be added to the whites, in making up the population on which representation in the lower house was to be based. Thus a state with 100,000 whites and 100,000 slaves would receive representation as if it had 160,000 population. The Constitution provided that the slave trade should not be disturbed by Congress for twenty years, though a tax not exceeding ten dollars a head might be imposed on incoming slaves. As a last compromise, it was provided that a simple majority in the house was all that was needed to pass tariff laws; but that no tax could ever be levied on exports. And this, after all, was the main thing which the Southern plantation owners desired to secure.

THE FIGHT OVER RATIFICATION

Many of the more extreme proposals were voted down, some of them repeatedly. The president's right of veto over the acts of state legislatures was voted out of the Virginia plan. The proposal to give the Supreme Court of the United States the right to declare unconstitutional laws enacted by Congress or by state legislatures was debated repeatedly, and voted down three times, for the shrewd reason that the people would never accept a constitution with such an

arbitrary power lodged in a small group, appointed for life, as federal judges were to be.

The Convention decided that the new Constitution should go into effect as soon as nine states had accepted it, and formally sent the document to Congress. Congress in turn submitted it to the states, for their approval. On December 7, 1787, two months and twenty days after it had been adopted by the Convention, the tiny state of Delaware swung into line, and became the first ratifying state.

On June 21, 1788, the Constitution became the law of the land in the first nine states to ratify it—Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Georgia, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Maryland, South Carolina, and New Hampshire. The two most important states of all, Virginia and New York, fell into line soon after, although the fights in their ratifying conventions were long and extremely bitter. North Carolina did not ratify until the end of 1789, after Washington had been president for six months. Rhode Island had stayed aloof from the whole proceedings, refusing even to send delegates to the Convention. The newly elected Congress acted swiftly in her case, and notified her that it intended to levy tariff duties upon all her trade with citizens of the other states, and otherwise treat her as a foreign nation, if she did not join. She finally ratified, and joined the Union on May 29, 1790.

Delaware, which led the procession into the band wagon, and New Jersey and Georgia had ratified by unanimous vote. The Massachusetts convention consisted of 355 members; a change of ten votes would have swung the decision against entering the Union. In the Virginia convention, with 168 delegates, a swing of 6 votes would have turned the tide against union. Pennsylvania was the scene of rioting and burning in effigy, shortly after the ratification. The New York convention took place in Poughkeepsie, and the Constitution only carried, after a tense struggle, by a vote of

30 to 27. Alexander Hamilton, for all that he favored an even stronger national government than the Constitution provided, led the fight for its adoption in New York, and produced, with the aid of Madison and Jay, the remarkable series of anonymous essays, *The Federalist*, explaining the Constitution and its proposed workings. In Virginia, Patrick Henry and Richard Henry Lee fought the document bitterly, on the ground that it destroyed the independence of the states; in Massachusetts, such patriots as Samuel Adams, Elbridge Gerry and John Hancock took the same aggressive opposing stand. The farmer class did not favor it, but it was and still is backward in its collective expressions of opinion; the debtor class opposed it, because of the vast powers over taxation granted to the central government. But the ratification brought forth such a storm of jubilation over the length and breadth of the land as had not been known since the repeal of the Stamp Act. And there was justification for this, since the Constitution brought at last security and stability out of near anarchy and the probability of ultimate national disintegration and destruction.

THE CONSTITUTION WE LIVE UNDER

The people of the United States live under this Constitution still. It has weathered the storms of a century and a half, and was never seriously shaken except by the Civil War, which for a brief time split the nation into two warring camps. It has proved to be elastic enough to accommodate itself to our growth from a seaboard nation of 4,000,000, to a continental people of 125,000,000, with territories touching three oceans. It has accommodated itself to the amazing development of the machine age, to open strife between the employing class and the employed, to the globe-shaking shock of a world war, to the assassin's bullet and a world-wide depression that closed all our banks and seemed to drive us into absolute bankruptcy and an-

archy. It has kept us steady while dynasties toppled and fell, while autocrats flourished and soviets developed, and in an hour when dictators stalk formidably over much of the earth. Countries like England and France accommodate themselves to changing conditions, by having no Constitution except the combined statutes of their legislatures: an unwritten constitution, as it is called. We, with the less adaptable written Constitution, have stayed as steady, or steadier. There can be no real understanding of American history until the Constitution is understood.

The adoption into three departments of government, legislative, executive, and judicial, was not a new one. Men's governments usually function so. The king or military leader once was his own judge and his own lawmaker. But the functions specialized in this direction very early, and today this tripartite division is found throughout the world. Even the colonies had the royal governor (except in Massachusetts, and Rhode Island, where much of the time he was selected by the freemen of the colonies), the king's judges with right of appeal to the Privy Council, and lawmaking bodies elected by the freemen. The reaction against the exactions of these governments was largely responsible for the weakness of government under the Articles of Confederation; for, of the three branches, only the legislative had been elected by the people, and this branch was the only one retained, during the eleven black years when our country survived without a president or national judges. The Constitution makers brought us back to governmental normalcy, by a Constitution which is still one of the patterns for government the world over.

The first article of the Constitution deals with the Legislative Department, the one most trusted by the people of the colonies. It gives the qualifications, lengths of service, methods of election, duties and powers of the members of both House of Representatives and Senate. The number of

Senators is always just twice the number of States—furnishing an effective small group of powerful legislators. The number of representatives depends on each decennial census, when Congress makes a new ratio of representation and a new apportionment of representatives among the various states. The Constitution provided one representative for every 30,000 of the population, giving a total of 65. By the 1790 census, the unit of apportionment was 33,000 of population, with a total of 106 members. Since 1910 the total membership has been 435, and the present unit of apportionment is one representative to every 280,674 of the voters. If the original unit had been retained, the present House of Representatives would number more than 3,000!

A bill must be passed by both houses, and signed by the president, to become a law. If he fails to veto it within ten days, it becomes a law automatically. If it is passed within the last ten days of a session of Congress, he may veto it by putting it "into his pocket" or simply not acting upon it—the so-called "pocket veto." A vetoed bill may still become a law, if both houses thereafter pass it by a two-thirds majority. Congress may pass laws on all subjects concerning its dignity and credit abroad, and its peace and security at home, including:

The regulation of commerce with foreign nations, and between the states.

The declaration of war, and the direction of the army and the navy.

The regulation of currency and coinage.

The control of public lands and territories.

Indian affairs, rivers, harbors, and lighthouses, coast survey, shipping, and defense.

The states are forbidden to legislate on matters delegated to Congress. No state can make alliances, go to war, coin money, tax the commerce of a sister state, or make anything

but gold and silver legal tender—that is, lawful money—for the payment of debts.

This leaves an enormous field of legislation open to the states. The protection of life and property, except where a federal law is involved, is a state concern. Marriage and inheritance come under state control. The chartering and control of business corporations is one of the state prerogatives, as is the control of state banks, trust companies, and insurance companies. The police power, except where it concerns infractions of federal laws, is in the hands of the states. Public education is within state jurisdiction. City, county, town and state governments are under its dominance. There are many other fields left to the states. There is a constant tendency, as the people become more and more integrated into a nation, to bring these under federal control; and this is opposed by those who still believe in the importance of states' rights. In practice, the decisions of the United States Supreme Court are final, in determining whether any given matters come under federal or state control.

According to the Constitution, the duty of putting into effect all of the laws of Congress is entrusted to the President,

who shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed. He is thus more like a European premier or prime minister than a king, especially in the modern development where kings have been shorn of most of their powers by legislative and cabinet government. The actual executive department, charged with the enforcement of every law of Congress, is in the hands of tens of thousands of subordinates, all of whom are appointed by the President, at times on the recommendation of his subordinates. The army and the navy are also parts of the executive department, and the President is legally their commander-in-chief.

When the federal government commenced to function,

four subordinates were appointed, not provided for in the Constitution, to carry on the detailed executive work—the Secretary of State, dealing with Foreign Affairs; the Secretary of War; the Secretary of the Treasury; and the Postmaster-General. Six more departments have been added—Navy, in 1798; Interior, in 1849; Justice—the department of the Attorney-General—1870; Agriculture, 1889; Commerce and Labor, 1903, made into two separate departments ten years later. There are proposals to add a Secretary of Social Work, and even of the Fine Arts, as well as of Education. The Attorney-General, the President's adviser on legal matters, and his representative in suits brought by and against the government, has been a member of the Cabinet since its inception. The Postmaster-General was not recognized as a member of the Cabinet until 1829. It is the first important development of our government in practice not provided for in the Constitution.

These ten important "secretaries" are called the President's family, and are chosen by him. They are responsible to the President alone; although the Senate has the power of impeaching them and removing them from office, if found guilty. In Europe, members of a ministry are also members of the legislative body, since European governments are largely government by legislature (functioning through prime minister and cabinet) today; in the United States, they are not members of Congress. The President consults them from time to time, and communicates at least an annual message to Congress when the legislative houses assemble, as first provided, on the first Monday of each December. He may send a special message to Congress at any time.

According to the Constitution, the President was to be chosen by a selected group of men called the electors. Each state was entitled to choose, in whatever manner it determined, as many electors as its representation in both houses

of Congress. The men so chosen were supposed to meet and deliberate, and then vote for President and Vice-President. At first they did not even vote separately for these officers—the man receiving the highest vote becoming President, (two names being written on each ballot), and the one receiving the second highest vote being Vice-President. We will see the election that caused a change in this system.

But this method of selection, by judicious consideration of a small group, was not to American liking. George Washington himself advised against parties within the republic; but, in spite of this, man is built for emotions and tense competing factions, and even Washington's first term, the country, and even his cabinet, was sharply split into rival parties. Party leaders began to select the candidates for President and Vice-President, and have done so ever since—at first by caucuses, or meetings of the party members in Congress; then by endorsement of state legislatures, and today by nominating national conventions. The selecting hand of the party leader has continued dominant, no matter the system. The voters still vote for Presidential electors; but these electors have no say in the selection of a President. They simply register the vote of their state, for whichever candidate the state's popular vote has decided. The new President is known the day after election, although the electors do not meet until January, two months later. The presidential electors are useless today, and it is constantly proposed to eliminate them.

The judicial department of the national government consists of the United States Supreme Court and various subordinate courts, appointed by the President with the consent of the Senate during good behavior—that is, in practice, for life. The Supreme Court, sitting in Washington, consists of a Chief Justice and eight Associate Justices, and is the most powerful judicial body in the world. Supreme Court Justices are removable only by impeachment. The

court's decision is final in all cases brought before it, from federal or state courts. It has sole jurisdiction in suits between two states; between a state and the United States, and in cases involving foreign ambassadors or ministers. The Constitutional Convention three times denied it the power of declaring a national or state law unconstitutional. The great John Marshall took over this right for the court, while Chief Justice. Today, any individual or corporation has the right to appeal to this court in any case involving the interpretation of a clause of the Constitution, and the court does not hesitate to declare unconstitutional any law, national or state, which it holds violates the national Constitution.

UNWRITTEN LAWS AND AMENDMENTS

Among the "unwritten laws" which are scrupulously followed in this country, although omitted from the Constitution, are:

1. The President's cabinet.
2. The national nominating conventions.
3. The instruction of Presidential electors requiring them to vote for the party's nominee for President.
4. The limitation of the President's office to two terms—a precedent set by Washington, and followed since. It is still undecided whether this applies to a Vice-President succeeding a President, and elected only once.
5. "Senatorial courtesy," binding the President to follow the recommendation of regular party Senators from each state in regard to appointments in their states.
6. The czar-like power of the Speaker of the House of Representatives to recognize only such members as he pleases, and thereby strongly to influence legislation.

7. The transaction of the majority of the business of Congress in committee rooms. At first, Congress was a forum in which national issues were debated by national leaders. Today, legislation is largely arranged by the party in power, with Congress hardly more than a voting machine.

Massachusetts and certain other states, strongly impressed with the immemorial rights of Englishmen for which they had waged the Revolution, accepted the Constitution with the recommendation that Congress set in motion amendments to it, guaranteeing these rights, which the Constitutional Convention had omitted. These were embodied in the first ten amendments to the Constitution, called the Bill of Rights. They were adopted by Congress and ratified by the states by November, 1791. They provide for religious freedom; free speech; a free press; the right of peaceable assembly and petition for redress of grievances; the right of the people to keep and bear arms; no quartering of soldiers in private houses; no searches of houses without search warrants; due process of law in civil and criminal cases, including no double jeopardy for the same offense, and grand jury indictments; a speedy, public and fair trial in all criminal cases; the right of trial by jury in civil cases involving more than twenty dollars; no excessive bail, and no cruel and unusual punishments; all rights not specifically granted to the national government to be retained by the states.

Eleven additional amendments have been passed, in the hundred and forty-five years that have elapsed. These forbid suits in federal courts by citizens of a state or a foreign country against a state; revise the method of electing President and Vice-President; abolish slavery, and make the Negroes citizens and voters; legalize a national income tax, the direct election of senators, and woman suffrage. The eighteenth and twenty-first amendments, respectively,

legalize national prohibition, and then repeal it. The method of amending the Constitution is cumbersome and slow, and this has operated strongly to keep down the number of amendments.

The "elastic clause" of the Constitution provides that Congress may—

make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers.

Since the beginning of our national history, there have been strict constructionists, who sought to limit the national government to the precise powers granted by the Constitution, and loose constructionists, who have favored powers which they hold were intended and implied to be granted to the national legislature. This is a very practical question of legislation. Congress is authorized "to regulate commerce among the several states": does this include the power to dictate railroad rates, regulate interstate corporations, regulate factories producing goods intended for interstate commerce? The problems arising from the world-wide depression following the World War after an interval of ten years, especially as involved in the Franklin D. Roosevelt New Deal, are similar. In general, the party in power has always been for loose construction, seeking to add power to itself; and the party out of power has been bitterly for strict construction—until it regained power. The Constitution has survived the onslaughts of both groups.



PART III
THE YOUNG NATION

CHAPTER XI

GEORGE WASHINGTON AS PRESIDENT

THE STATE OF THE NATION

THE United States, in 1789, had less population than the state of New Jersey has today. There were barely more than 3,000,000 whites, with about 700,000 slaves. Philadelphia, the largest city, was proud that it had reached 42,000. New York City was ten thousand behind this. Charleston, Baltimore, and Boston had gone over the 10,000 limit. The country was still a land of forests, slowly being altered, especially along the seacoast, into farms. More than 90 percent of the people were farmers. Today, approximately 60 percent of us live in cities.

England had discouraged manufactures in the colonies, holding, by the Mercantile Theory of Commerce, that the homeland was entitled to do all the manufacturing, in order to get the manufacturer's profit from the colonists, who were only allowed to furnish the raw materials. During the turbulent years since the beginning of the Revolution, small progress had been made in manufacturing. In 1791, only seventeen manufacturing industries showed any appreciable progress, chief among these being iron, leather, pottery, textiles, tools, and hardware. But there was very little capital available, and very little free labor, and no demand abroad for manufactured American products: while the Old World was eager to buy foodstuffs, tobacco, and raw materials from the United States, and the land to raise

these on or secure them from was practically unlimited, considering the size of the population.

England, at this time, was the world leader in manufactures. Her inventions in spinning, weaving, mining, transportation, and the early application of steam to manufacturing, had brought on that vast change in society known as the Industrial Revolution; and the other European countries were far behind her in this. She was eager still to exchange her manufactured products for our foodstuffs. We had never been permitted to be anything but farmers and traders, the trading class being largely northern: there was no profit in changing, at this time. Our ships were already busied in profitable voyages to Africa, India, and China. The first Congress under the Constitution enacted laws to encourage our commerce. A rebate of 10 percent was allowed on goods imported in American ships, from the regular customs duties. Tonnage dues in American ports on American vessels amounted to six cents a ton; on foreign-owned vessels, to from 30 to 50 cents a ton.

Today, the United States leads the world in facilities for travel. In 1789, there were only a few roads, and they were poor; and, as a result, the inns and taverns were primitive and uncomfortable. Transportation by water was the preferred method: like the cities of the Old World, our culture developed along the seacoasts and along navigable streams. Next to this came horseback riding. But this was uncomfortable and dangerous; and the only alternative, the stage coach, without springs, was not pleasant. Man had not improved his methods of transportation in any material direction since the classic Greek and Roman times. The magnificent roads of the Persian Empire and the Roman Empire, and the swift comfortable travel possible on them, was superior to anything that the New World afforded, or that indeed was possible in the Old World, until the beginning of the 19th century. Men were experimenting with the

first crude steamboats and steam railroads; but their invention still lay in the future, in Washington's day.

The first method proposed for settling the West was that which England had used in settling her American colonies—granting millions of acres to large land companies, such as the Ohio Company and the Scioto Company, or to private gamblers in colonization, like Symmes. These, in return, were to agree to secure colonization of the lands, from the young states or from the Old World. The method finally adopted and used throughout our history is due to the wisdom of Thomas Jefferson. This divided the territory into townships of six miles square; divided similar to a checkerboard into 36 sections of one square mile each. A section accordingly held 640 acres. These were at first auctioned off in Philadelphia, at not less than \$1 an acre. In 1796 a land office was opened in Pittsburgh, to continue these sales; in 1800, one in Cincinnati. Settlers were allowed to buy as little as half a section, or 320 acres, at \$2 an acre; and liberal credit was extended to the settlers. By 1830, the price was cut to \$1.25 cash per acre, and as little as 80 acres would be sold to one man.

As far as possible the colonists, though weaned legally from the homeland by the Revolution, continued to imitate the aristocratic customs of the motherland. Even in the north, good breeding and acceptable birth were respected. The Americans looked up to the man who wore powdered wigs, silver buckles, and the other trappings of English nobility or squirearchy; they respected footmen in livery, and all the formal courtesy and dignity of speech that marked European courts. This came natural to the rich plantation owners of the South; although, in off moments when not in public or not expecting company these substituted skull caps or even bandana handkerchiefs for the powdered wigs—a custom the slaves were not slow to adopt, and which is still seen among old fashioned de-

scendants of the slaves in the South today. The Northerners, in contact with the Southerners in their Congresses and elsewhere, to some extent patterned themselves on the Southern imitation of European manners and customs. But the chasm between rich and poor was not deep. There were no billionaires in those days, and even the debtors might, by a lucky break, step across the dividing line and regard themselves as gentlemen. It took generations of toil as farmers or laborers to build the social caste system that we have today; and even it is infinitely less rigid than any European system.

WASHINGTON, OUR FIRST PRESIDENT

George Washington was selected by the unanimous vote of the electors as the first President of the young nation, and March 4, 1789, had been selected as the date for him to take office. On March 3rd the guns of New York roared a farewell salute to the old government, and on the next morning a welcome to the new. But this was premature. The old Congress died of inanition several months before. It was nearly a month more before the new Congress was ready to organize. The roads were dreadful, transportation uncertain, and the election had been tardy; and the idea that the new national government was really powerful, and not the mere debating society under the Articles of Confederation, was very young and not widely accepted.

On March 4th, less than half of the twenty-two Senators were on hand. North Carolina and Rhode Island had not, as yet, formally ratified the Constitution and joined the United States. Less than one fourth of the Representatives were on hand: not quite fifteen. Slowly they assembled in New York City, the temporary capital, and proceeded to organize. They counted the electoral vote, and notified George Washington at Mount Vernon that he had been

selected to head the young government. On April 30th, he was formally inaugurated as our first President.

His journey from the Potomac to the city at the mouth of the Hudson was one long rhapsodic ovation. The streets were bright with young spring flowers. Triumphal arches sprang up overnight; constant banquets, speeches, cheers and patriotic songs reassured him of his countrymen's gratitude for his labors in peace no less than in the dark days of the Revolution. His response was serious and considered:

I walk on untrodden ground. There is scarcely any action the motive of which may not be subjected to a double interpretation. There is scarcely any part of my conduct that may not hereafter be drawn into precedent.

He had to build the new office into national dignity and importance. He had to choose wise advisers and incorruptible judges, to quiet the bickerings of strident factions, to deal on terms of shrewd equality with foreign representatives, to build up official dignity without too greatly offending democratic natures. It needed the wisdom of a superman to do all this. Washington did not fail.

It took tact and persuasion to get Thomas Jefferson to surrender his position of minister to France, and become Secretary of State (in charge of foreign affairs) in the new cabinet. Jefferson was a radical, already imbued with the principles of the French Revolution, whose rumblings he had distinctly heard in the capital of France. He believed strongly in the rule of the people, and held that a revolution at least once every twenty years was needed to clear the air of aristocratic abuses. In practice, he was a gentleman of Virginia, by no means as bloodthirsty as his announced principles.

In sharp contrast to Jefferson, the Democrat, was Alexander Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury. Hamilton had been born on the British West Indian island of Nevis, of

parents not even legally married, due to the harsh English system which forbade divorce for permanent insanity. He had reached New York in 1769 and had at once thrown himself whole-heartedly into the American cause, against the England which did not recognize the legitimacy of his birth. During the Revolution he had been for four years Washington's confidential aide; he had helped frame the Constitution, an extremist on the side of national unity and aristocratic principles; and his brilliant essays in *The Federalist* had done much to swing New York into line for the Constitution. He was the complete opposite of Jefferson on every question of Constitutional interpretation, a loose constructionist instead of a strict one; and as to every policy proposed for the new government. And they were both giants, Jefferson more the impassioned idealist, Hamilton the shrewd realist. They sat at the two ends of the cabinet table, and at times rose in white anger, ready for physical assault. Repeatedly both of them begged the President to choose between them, and let the other go. But Washington had determined to quiet faction and party division by making the lion and the lamb lie down together in the same field; and during his first administration he held the two mighty warriors in check in one cabinet.

HAMILTON AND NATIONAL FINANCES

Congress had work enough to do, in organizing the various departments of the new government, in establishing post offices, in instituting courts, in holding the inimical Indians in check, in considering the proposed amendments to the Constitution, of which ten were finally adopted as the Bill of Rights. It had to take a census of the population; ascertaining the total population to be just under four million (3,929,214), with Virginia far and away the leading state, Pennsylvania second, and North Carolina, Massachusetts, New York and Maryland next in the order given.

The population of the potential states of Kentucky, Maine, Tennessee, and Vermont was also included: Vermont being admitted to statehood in 1791, Kentucky in 1792, Tennessee in 1796, and Maine not until after Ohio, Louisiana, Indiana, Mississippi, Illinois and Alabama had all been organized and admitted, Maine actually entering in 1820. It had to decide upon salaries and attend to the all important matter of appropriations.

But the outstanding problem of all, the rock on which the Articles of Confederation had broken to pieces through governmental powerlessness, was the matter of national defenses. The most brilliantly constructive mind in our early national history, that of Alexander Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury, was in charge of this; and his solution ranks him with John Marshall as one of the two most potent shapers of our national character.

Hamilton had two major tasks: the establishment of the national credit, and the raising of an adequate income to meet the national budget of expenditures. He did not shilly-shally with the problem of the national debt, which had reached the appalling total, for those days, of \$54,000,000. Some \$12,000,000 was a foreign debt, owed chiefly to our allies France and Holland. There was general agreement that this must be paid. There was the remainder, \$42,000,000, a domestic debt, chiefly in the form of governmental promises to pay the holders named on the certificates. These, while the government had stumbled along under the Articles of Confederation, had depreciated far below their face value. Honest debtors who had lent the government money, furnished it goods, or served it, had been forced to sell these certificates at whatever they would bring. Farsighted money speculators had bought these in for as little as possible; and they were not now in the hands of the ones who had aided the government in its hour of need, in most cases. Hamilton's enemies openly charged that he had given

his friends and supporters advance tips of his determination to pay off the certificates at face value, so that they could gather in the paper at bottom prices and profit both at the expense of the proper holders and of the government. There was no doubt that the Hamiltonian policy of payment at face value would make some rascals rich. Hamilton argued that these should be paid at face value, as an object lesson to holders of government promises to pay in the future. What if a few rascals did get rich? The holders of the certificates enthusiastically praised his far-seeing statesmanship. They were paid off at face value, and since that day government promises to pay have been on a firm footing, in America.

The various states had piled up about \$20,000,000 more, in the form of state promises to pay. Hamilton insisted that the national government should assume these. There was shrewdness in this, for it lessoned creditors at home and abroad that the United States was one single power, and not mere cooperating units. This enriched the speculators quite as much as the payment of the national debt at par; for these promises had sold at ridiculously low figures, in many instances. The whole effect of this policy was to bring in the money-lending class, always powerful in any advanced society, to the enthusiastic support of the new government.

The annual interest on this \$75,000,000 debt would amount to about \$4,500,000. Hamilton proposed to pay this and current operating expenses by two means:

1. An excise tax on distilled liquors.
2. A 10 percent tariff for revenue and protection.

The low tariff was possible, because of the bulk of our foreign trade. The tariff, or duties levied on goods coming into the country, served to protect home industries, by forcing foreign goods to be sold at at least 10 percent more than the cost of production and transportation plus the desired profit, in order to be able to compete with home manu-

factures. This was designed to aid our infant industries. These same husky infants, a hundred and forty plus years later, are still being aided, by a far higher tariff rate; and the tariff has played an important part in building up the imagination-staggering fortunes that America knows today. It has at the same time helped the consuming classes, insofar as they have been able to secure employment from the manufacturers. It needed some such impetus to turn us from a farming community to a manufacturing one. The need today is the reverse, to return a proportion of our excess mill and factory labor to the class of farmers and food-producers.

The government needed some agent to act for it in the financial operations required by this policy. The Bank of England had been in existence since 1694 and served as a model for the National Bank which Hamilton urged, to complete his financial system. The bank was to have a monopoly on government deposits of funds derived from the sale of public lands, customs duties, and other sources; the nation was to subscribe one fifth of the bank's capital of \$10,000,000; and its notes were to be legal tender for all monies owed to the United States. The bank was to be allowed to manage all government loans, was to be ready to aid the United States Treasury in times of need, and was to be under government supervision, with reports furnished not oftener than weekly to the Secretary of the Treasury.

Barring the matter of paying the foreign debt of the nation, all of these Hamiltonian policies provoked bitter opposition. Virginia and North Carolina had paid off practically all of their state debts, through the sale of their western lands; and they felt it decidedly unfair to force their citizens to pay, in addition, an equal share of the debts of states which had let their obligations slide. The farming classes counted on the distillation of their grain into whiskey, and felt that the excise tax would bankrupt them.

The agricultural states of the South insisted bitterly that the government had no right to pamper the northern manufacturing states, at the expense of the southern consumers—a division of opinion over the tariff which has never died down. The bank was opposed especially by the strict constructionists, since the Constitution did not empower the government to create a corporation and surrender to it a monopoly of the government's financial dealings. But Hamilton urged the policies so strongly to Congress in his reports and recommendations of 1790 and the next year, that in the end his whole program was adopted.

THE FIRST DIVISION INTO PARTIES

Division into parties had been inevitable from the start, in spite of Washington's hope that logical discussion and unanimous opinion could be preserved in the council of the nation. The Revolutionary division had been into Revolutionists, and Tories or Loyalists. That division was ended by the Revolution. The major division that took its place was that between loose constructionists of the Constitution, who desired a national government as powerful as possible, at the expense of the states; and the strict constructionists, who stood for states' rights. This division has continued down to today. It has shifted from party to party, as a general rule the party in power always being or ending up as a loose constructionist party, in order to give more power to itself.

Another general rule is that the party representing the farming interests has stood for strict construction, since farming is the least organized of all our industries, and farmers are by nature independent individualists at times to a harmful extent, while the party representing the manufacturing interests has stood for loose construction, through its tighter organization and control of the dominant political machinery. If the farming interests had ever

been sufficiently organized to express their will in national affairs effectively, these positions would have been reversed. They constituted 90 percent of the population in 1790. For the first 36 years of our national existence, the so-called Virginia dynasty (Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe) were in power, except for a brief four years under John Adams. Yet Washington sided with the northern loose constructionists throughout; and, as representatives of the party in power, the loose construction policy appeared even in such an outstanding exponent of democracy as Thomas Jefferson, as we will see. These Virginia gentlemen were never Presidents standing for the farming class. As large plantation owners and advocates, they as a rule tended to hold in check the selfish aims of the growing manufacturing class. But they did not side whole-heartedly against them, and the general national policy continued increasingly loose construction.

The first major division came over Hamilton's financial policies. Washington, seeing the need for establishing the credit of the United States beyond dispute, sided with his brilliant Secretary of the Treasury; and so did John Adams, the Vice-President. Thomas Jefferson, a fine old Virginia gentleman already strongly imbued with the anti-aristocratic tendencies of the French Revolution, championed the cause of people as against security for wealth and industry. The Jeffersonian party called itself first the Anti-Federalist party, and then the Democratic-Republican party. They changed this to Republican, when the frantic excesses of the Reign of Terror in France made the word democratic a bogey in timorous conservative eyes. This Republican party—in spirit almost the opposite of the present Republican party, which originated in the heat of the anti-slavery agitation of the 1850's—had its major following in the five Southern agricultural states. It stood for agriculture, and against pampering commerce and industry. It stood for strict construc-

tion of the Constitution, since it felt it could better control the state governments than the huger more impersonal federal one. It did not favor the continuance and increase of the national debt, which would forever demand a growing burden of taxation. It was democratic in spirit, taking its early model from the successful Grecian and Roman republics. The opposition party called itself Federalist, since it stood for a strong federal government, with the state governments as mere geographical units for the efficient carrying out of the federal government's decisions. They believed, in the words of John Adams, in a government by the rich, the well-born, and the able, excluding from participation all others. Jefferson stated starkly that he favored government by the mob; Hamilton said that Jefferson's mob was at best a beast. The first great division occurred at that.

In conflict with the trained Hamiltonian statesmen, closely allied with the shrewd wealthy property owners, a government for the people and by the people had not yet developed far enough to be a serious threat. Property qualifications for voting, inherited from England, were universal in the states for a long time. The chosen few have always had the advantages of better education, more sinews of war, a more unified organization and purpose. After the first successful four years of Washington's administration, the great First Citizen wanted to retire to his quiet acres at Mount Vernon, and leave others to carry on the affairs of state: especially as the heat of party conflict had already resulted in outrageous vilifications of the motives and actions of the strong man at the helm.

But Hamilton, as spokesman for the chosen few, pointed out that it was not yet time to risk defeat by the spokesman for the mob. And so Washington became a candidate for a second term, as the one man who could hold together the national financial fabric which Hamilton had so carefully pieced together. Again it was a unanimous selection. But

the growing Republican strength was evidenced in the selection of a majority in the third Congress (1793-1795).

AMERICA AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

American foreign affairs for the next twenty years were dominated by the French Revolution and its aftermath. The Revolution of 1789-1791 had ended many ancient abuses. But the sense of sudden power drove its inexperienced possessors into the intoxication of destruction, ending in a Reign of Terror which destroyed bloodily not only the king and queen, and the French aristocrats who could be apprehended, but even all of the Revolutionists who were suspected of any leaning, however slight, toward aristocracy. The French Republic, by the summer of 1793, was already at war with England, Prussia, Austria, and several lesser European kingdoms, in a belligerent effort to carry the gospel of "liberty, equality and fraternity" throughout the world. And the whirlwind did not delay long.

We were bound to France, by the alliance of 1778. But that had been to France of the Bourbons; and Washington and his Federalist advisers held that such an alliance did not bind us to the frantic extremists who were rapidly going to war with the whole European world. On April 22, 1793, with the unanimous support of a cabinet from which the Jeffersonian party had been excluded, Washington disclaimed the old French alliance, and proclaimed neutrality, stating that it was the American policy to keep hands off from the intricate warfares of Europe.

We had personal reasons for this stand. England still held the valuable fur trading posts on the northwest frontier, and was known to be egging on the Indians secretly in attacks on American settlers in the Ohio Valley. The Spanish were similarly urging on the Cherokees and Creeks of Florida against the people of Georgia, and were seeking to wean the southwestern pioneers under the Spanish flag, by

holding out as bait the golden commerce on the Mississippi. France was out of the American scene; but an alliance with her, in her warfare against England, might have meant the loss of the Northwest Territory and perhaps of the southwest to Spain as well.

The French Republic sent "Citizen" Genet over as minister, just before neutrality was announced. He was the perfect exemplification of presumptuous arrogance in office. He imagined that the alliance was a permanency, and came to use the American ports as bases of attack against the British West Indies. The Southern Republicans made a god out of him, with banqueting, eloquent oratory, and roaring of the French Revolutionary *Marseillaise*. He began to act like a human god. He ordered the French consuls in America about, as if they had been his lackeys and spies. He appealed in the Republican press for a united front against the American aristocrats—who, incidentally, constituted the government. He badgered the President and the cabinet for not letting him teach them the true meaning of democracy. He brought captured English ships into American ports, contrary to the neutrality proclamation, and had them fitted out as privateers to harass English commerce in the West Indies. He wrote directly to the President, contrary to accepted diplomatic usage; and when the Secretary of State called him to order for this, he threatened to appeal to the American people, to judge between himself and George Washington. He was a little more than even the most impassioned Republican could stomach; and at the administration's request, he was recalled.

England still held on to the fur posts, with an annual income of at least \$1,000,000; her excuse being the failure of our government to make sure of the debts due English merchants before the Revolution. The United States pointed out that England had carried off illegally many American slaves, at the end of the Revolution; had closed the British

West Indies to our commerce; and had refused to send a minister to the young republic. Since the outbreak of the war with France, in 1793, England had become aggressive against American rights, stopping our ships at sea in search of alleged deserters from the English navy, and actually impressing many of our seamen into British service. Federalist New England merchants, outraged by this, joined with Republican Southern planters in demanding war with England. A Non-Intercourse Act, which would have terminated all trade with England, was barely defeated in the Senate by the deciding vote of Vice-President Adams. At one word from Washington, Congress would have rushed into a declaration of war.

Washington had had enough of war. He sent the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, John Jay, as special envoy to Great Britain, to negotiate a revised treaty. In mid 1795 Jay returned with the best terms England would grant: evacuation of the fur posts by June, 1796; and arbitration of disputed boundaries, damages to American shipping, and the ancient itching problem of the old debts due British merchants. On the matter of the stolen slaves she refused to consider arbitration or settlement; she was willing to grant no real right of commerce with the West Indies; and she would not let the matter of the impressment of American seamen be mentioned at all in the treaty.

No one was satisfied with the Jay Treaty. It neither gave Americans the relief they wanted, or furnished full grounds for a renewal of war. Jay was accused of selling his country for gold, and his image was burned in effigy from Boston to Savannah. Hamilton **rose** to speak in favor of the treaty on the streets of New York City, and the mob stoned him down. Washington came in for his full share of abuse. Yet he held that no better terms could be obtained, and used all his influence to secure the bare two-thirds in the Senate necessary to secure the adoption of the treaty, in June, 1795.

The Pinckney treaty with Spain, recognizing the thirty-first parallel as the Florida boundary line, and permitting the free navigation of the Mississippi and the right of deposit, or non-dutiable transfer of goods to ocean-going ships, at New Orleans, was negotiated the same year.

Six months before his retirement, Washington published his Farewell Address, warning as before against foreign alliances and domestic party divisions. It did not endear him to the rabid Republicans, remembering that he had sent the Pennsylvania, Delaware, New Jersey and Maryland militia, 15,000 of them, to enforce the whiskey excise tax in rioting Pennsylvania counties. The newspapers of both parties became abusive, Washington being described as tyrant, dictator, and despot, as well as harsher terms. He was jeered at as the stepfather of the country, an impostor who should be hurled from his "throne." The election of 1796 was bitter; but by a bare majority of 71 to 69 the Federalist candidate, John Adams, nosed ahead of the Republican, Thomas Jefferson. His term was to mark the end of Federalist participation in American government.



John Adams (1735-1826)

CHAPTER XII

THE JEFFERSONIAN REVOLUTION

WAR WITH FRANCE

THE Federalist administration under John Adams inherited all of the French resentment that had come from our refusal to abide by the 1778 alliance; and an additional burden of ill feeling which grew out of the final acceptance of the Jay Treaty with England. For France was counting on our going to war with England, to aid her in her struggles against England and the European powers. In December, 1798, the Directory, as the French ruling group under the Republic between 1795 and 1799 was called, refused to receive our minister, C. C. Pinckney, and ordered him to leave France.

Adams sent a message to Congress, talking vaguely of the need of conduct that would convince France and the world that we would not accept such national rudeness like a chastened colony. Yet Adams, following Washington's advice against foreign entanglements, did not go so far as to favor war with France. When Talleyrand, the famous French Minister of Foreign Affairs, hinted to the President that an embassy to discuss the commercial and political matters at issue would be welcomed by France, he named John Marshall of Virginia and Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts to serve on it, with Pinckney.

Talleyrand sent three private citizens, designated as "X", "Y" and "Z" in the published dispatches of our State Department, to the envoys, demanding a preliminary apol-

ogy from President Adams to France for the language used in his message to Congress; and asking for a large bribe to be paid personally to the French Directors, before negotiations could be commenced. Adams was thoroughly indignant at last; he informed Congress,

I will never send another minister to France, without assurances that he will be received, respected, and honored as the representative of a great, free, powerful and independent nation.

This belligerent note pleased most Americans. *Hail Columbia*, the new patriotic song, was sung everywhere, and war preparations were commenced. 80,000 militia were gotten ready for service, with the veteran George Washington as commander, and Hamilton and Knox as his two chief subordinates. A Navy Department was created, and a fleet started.

Congress declared that the treaty of 1778 was at an end, and empowered American ships to prey on French commerce. There was no actual declaration of war; but for a year and a half, until the opening of 1800, an actual state of war with France existed, and several minor battles were fought at sea. France at this time was at war with almost everybody else, and one more opponent did not seriously embarrass her.

And then Napoleon Bonaparte, the "Absolute on Horseback," overturned the Directory and started on his career of world conquest by becoming master of France. He was shrewd enough to desire to decrease the number of his enemies; and he saw no reason to include the United States among them. He indicated that he was ready to make peace. President Adams, to the disappointment of the belligerent old Federalist war horses, accepted Napoleon's invitation. A treaty was made in 1801 with France, which made us at peace with the world again.

But by this time, the Federalists were already thoroughly

discredited, and the Republicans had taken control of the nation. Intoxicated with authority, and determined to put an end to all vocal opposition to the administration, the Federalists forced three acts through Congress.

A Naturalization Act, requiring 14 years residence on the part of a foreigner, instead of 5, before granting citizenship.

An Alien Act, giving the right to the President for two years to deport all aliens he judged dangerous to the peace and safety of the United States.

A Sedition Act, to last until the end of Adams's administration, punishing by a maximum fine of \$2,000 and two years in jail anyone writing or publishing any false, scandalous and malicious writings against the government, the President, or either house of Congress, or exciting against them popular hatred, to stir up sedition.

More level Federalist heads including Hamilton and young John Marshall, warned against these intemperate acts. But wartime hysteria against French immigrants and the rabid Republican press caused them to become the law.

THE DEATH OF FEDERALISM

The legislature of Kentucky, in November, 1798, passed the celebrated Kentucky Resolution, framed by Thomas Jefferson himself, which declared the Sedition Act—altogether void and of no effect.

Virginia, a month later, passed a similar resolution, The Virginia Resolution, framed by James Madison, described the Federalist acts as

alarming infractions of the Constitution, which in the First Amendment, the opening of the Bill of Rights, had guaranteed freedom of speech and of the press to Americans. The other states were invited to join in the protests, and demanding repeal of the acts at the hands of

Congress. Jefferson and Madison remembered that the power to declare an act unconstitutional had been three times refused to the United States Supreme Court; nor had it yet taken over that power. It must lie in the hands of someone to keep Congress within limits; and that someone, they held, was the states, to whom all rights not specifically granted had been specifically reserved. The final growth of this alleged right appeared in the secession ordinances of the Confederate States in 1860 and thereafter.

The Republicans had not been popular, in the role of defenders of arrogant bloodthirsty France. This gave them a chance to pose as the guardians of the Constitution and the rights of the states, and furnished magnificent campaign material. Hamilton and Adams were quarrelling, and the Republicans made a complete sweep of it, electing President, Vice-President, and Congress alike. The Federalists never regained control, although they put up candidates for the next three elections.

Every Republican elector had written in the names of Jefferson and Aaron Burr on his ballot, it being understood that Jefferson was to be President and Burr the Vice-President. But this made a legal tie for the Presidency; and the ambitious and rather unscrupulous Burr would not retire. The Federalist House of Representatives, elected in 1798, had the choice; and many Federalists voted for Burr to keep Jefferson out, though they knew this was contrary to the popular will. By states, the vote stood, Jefferson, 10; Burr, 4, making Jefferson President.

The Federalists, voted out of executive and legislative branches of the government, determined to circumvent the will of the people by hanging on to the judicial department. The last session of their Congress created several unnecessary judgeships, and Adams stayed up until the last few minutes of his term signing the commissions of the discredited Federalists to fill these positions. These officers were

thereafter called the Midnight Judges. Early on the morning of March 4th, the ungracious New Englander left the White House, without waiting to welcome the incoming President.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF JEFFERSON

Philadelphia had been the early capital of the country; and in 1783 mutinous soldiers had driven Congress out of the national capital. The Constitution provided for a tract of land not over ten miles square, to be ceded by the states and become the new capital. Both the North and the South wanted the capital located within their borders. In July, 1790, Hamilton agreed to vote for Jefferson's choice, a site along the Potomac, in return for Jefferson's aid in the matter of government assumption of state war debts. Virginia and Maryland joined in the cession of the present site of Washington along the Potomac, and by 1800 a few buildings had been finished.

The White House at this time was a big square unfinished building, more like an empty auditorium than a home. Frugal Abigail Adams wrote that it would take all of thirty servants to run it; and continued to dry the presidential washing during rainy weather in the unplastered East Room. There were two executive buildings finished; and a mile away laborers were at work on the wings of the Capitol. A muddy road across a meandering creek was all that joined the two ends of the prospective city. There were no other buildings except a few boarding houses, hurriedly erected to house the members of Congress.

Thomas Jefferson had been born an aristocrat, but he had accepted in his soul the principles of liberty, equality and fraternity, and he lived up to his principles. He was tall and rangy, and he preferred slouchy clothing stained with snuff, as more democratic than the meticulous attire and conduct of Washington and Adams. He hated every

appearance of aristocracy, and swore by the plain people. He wanted America to continue a race of farmers, governing themselves in their state legislatures. Let the national government concern itself with foreign affairs. He wanted a reduction of the army and the navy, and the application of the public revenues to wiping out the national debt.

He was milder in conduct than in his words, and even in his inaugural address he said that Federalists were one with the Republicans in common devotion to their new country. With his approval the new Republican Congress turned the Midnight Judges out of office, made five years again the time required for naturalization, and repealed the detested whiskey excise tax, scolding the elaborate Federalist machinery to seek to punish a "few irate farmers" by means of a whole army, and waxing indignant over willingness to spill sacred American blood because of a few barrels of stolen whiskey. The Alien and Sedition Acts had already expired. And then, as the party in power, Jefferson and the Republicans settled down to administer the government much in the loose construction attitude of Washington and Adams. The tariff was retained, and the bank was left alone. Albert Gallatin, a naturalized Swiss, Secretary of the Treasury, made a record almost as brilliant as Hamilton's, exercising strict government economy in expenditures, introducing a budget, slicing appropriations for army and navy 50 percent, and devoting about 70 percent of the revenue, amounting to more than \$7,000,000 yearly, to the reduction of the national debt.

THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE

Jefferson believed firmly in strict construction of the Constitution, and in stringent economy in national expenditures. But events and the power of office caused him to make a new record in loose construction, and to pay out \$15,000,000 at one clip.

In 1800 Napoleon Bonaparte decided to revive French glories in America by establishing a great Mississippi Valley empire. By the secret treaty of San Ildefonso, that year, he secured from Spain the entire western half of the valley, called Louisiana, after Louis XIV. Jefferson learned of this in 1802, and was not pleased at the prospect of turbulent France as a neighbor, instead of sluggish Spain. Tennessee, Kentucky and Northwest Territory were cut off from the seaboard by the Alleghenies; their tobacco, wheat, hogs and lumber had to reach the East by way of the Mississippi, and in 1800 more than three-eighths of our commerce followed this route. It would be ruinous to our trade to have New Orleans, the port of deposit for transshipping from river boats to seagoing ships, turned into a war base for the long bloody duel between Napoleon and England. Jefferson wrote to the American minister in Paris that the moment Napoleon took possession of New Orleans,

we must marry ourselves to the British fleet and nation, which Jefferson personally had no use for.

In October, 1802, Spain closed the mouth of the Mississippi, by cancelling the deposit right included in the 1795 Pinckney treaty. Jefferson persuaded Congress to appropriate \$2,000,000 to purchase New Orleans and West Florida from Spain, and sent James Monroe to Paris, to assist the minister, Robert R. Livingston, to aid in the negotiations. The matter was in Napoleon's hands, and at first he would not hear of it. And then the destruction in Haiti of a great French army under Napoleon's brother-in-law, Leclerc, convinced the great conqueror that he could not afford to play with his scheme for an American empire; he had his hands full dealing with England and Europe. He bargained shrewdly, and agreed to let the territory go for \$15,000,000, of which about \$3,500,000 was to be paid back to our own Western citizens for trade damages. This agreement was made on April 30, 1803.

The purchase of Louisiana was of enormous significance to the growing nation. It doubled the area of the country. It carried our western boundary to the Rockies, and added by far the richest granary in the twin continents to the American territories. By 1910, the value of farm property alone in the fourteen states and parts of states included in the purchase was more than 1,000 times the original price paid for the territory. Within two months, Jefferson sent his private secretary, Captain Meriwether Lewis, and William Clark, brother of the sturdy Revolutionary fighter George Rogers Clark, to explore the far northwest for study and possible settlement. The expedition wintered at the mouth of the Missouri, and in the spring of 1804 started the westward trek with a company of thirty-five men. This celebrated Lewis and Clark expedition followed the Missouri up to its headwaters, crossed the Rocky Mountains, and followed the Columbia River to the Pacific, during the two and a half years journey making valuable scientific study of the Indian tribes encountered. The expedition furnished one of our claims to Oregon, in the dispute with England almost half a century later.

Jefferson could not discover Constitutional authority for such a purchase, with a promise of incorporating the inhabitants into United States citizenship. He contemplated asking for a Constitutional amendment, giving the President such a right. His advisers pointed out that this might give Napoleon time to change his mind again; or might permit Spanish protest against the French violation of the Treaty of San Ildefonso, which forbade such a sale. The President was persuaded, and there were no protests. Jefferson was not even sure that Louisiana would ever become a part of the United States. He wrote in 1804,

Whether we remain one confederacy or fall into Atlantic and Mississippi Confederacies I believe not very important to the happiness of either part.

He still regarded the United States as a confederacy, not a nation.

Congress organized the southern tip of the new territory into the territory of Orleans, and for eight years regarded its inhabitants as subjects, and not citizens, without granting either jury trial or right to elect an assembly. After all, Louisiana had always been governed by the Spanish and French laws, based upon Roman law and not English, and upon the later Code Napoleon; and to this day its legal system is largely different from that of any other state.

JEFFERSON'S OTHER PROBLEMS

The nation enthusiastically favored the amazing addition of western territory. In the election of 1804, Jefferson was reelected by a landslide, receiving 162 electoral votes, to 14 for C. C. Pinckney, the Federalist candidate. At the same time the country learned with a thrill of further pride that the American navy had ended the ancient insolence of the Barbary pirates along the north coast of Africa, especially against the pasha of Tripoli, who was preying on our commerce and demanding blackmail from the government. Commanders Decatur, Preble and Bainbridge became the moment's popular heroes, for their heroism in distant waters.

The Federalist irreconcilables raged at this, and, led by Pickering, Griswold and Sedgwick, planned to break up the Union. They could not face eventual domination by Southern planters, supported by "creoles and half-breeds" from the barbarous "western Scythia," to use their charming language. Vice-President Burr, who had been snubbed by Jefferson ever since his unprincipled conduct of 1800 regarding the presidency, joined a vague conspiracy to bring New York into the planned Western Confederacy, and accepted Federalist support for governor of New York in the 1804 election. His defeat was mainly due to Alexander

Hamilton, who had been foremost in thwarting his ambitions in 1801. Burr challenged Hamilton to a duel, and killed him on Weehawken Heights, New Jersey, on July 11, 1804.

Burr knew that all true Americans regarded his murderous duel with detestation, and he conceived of an even wilder plan to recoup his fortunes and his reputation. It is still obscure as to just what his objective was, if indeed it was entirely clarified in his own mind. He may have planned to establish an independent country in the Mississippi Valley, or perhaps to capture New Orleans and shape an empire for the Burr dynasty out of Spanish lands further to the southwest. For two years his movements disturbed the entire West. He was finally betrayed by his accomplice, General Wilkinson. He tried to escape into Spanish Florida. He was captured, and brought to Richmond to be tried. John Marshall, the great Federalist Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court who had been appointed by John Adams, was the presiding justice at the trial for treason against Burr. Jefferson was determined that there should be a conviction. Under Marshall's precise charge, the jury found no overt act of treason to justify a verdict of guilty, and freed the ambitious conspirator. Burr spent the rest of his life in shabby obscurity and impoverished misery.

But the petty plottings of Aaron Burr were small annoyances, compared to the complications from overseas, where Napoleon and England were locked in a death grip.

CHAPTER XIII

THE WAR OF 1812

THE STRUGGLE FOR NEUTRALITY

THE final red flowering of the French Revolution was the great military leader, reformer, statesman, and wholesale murderer, Napoleon Bonaparte. His policy of never ending warfare was not forced on him by outside states, or through any pleasure in warfare as such: it was the cold calculating policy of a man willing to butcher kingdoms and republics to keep his power vigorous. He worded his motive himself:

France must be the first among the states, or she is lost. . . . In our position I shall look upon each conclusion of peace as simply a short armistice, and I regard myself during my term of office to fight almost without intermission. . . . There will be no rest in Europe until it is under a single chief—an emperor who shall have kings for officers, who shall distribute kingdoms to his lieutenants,

and all the calculating rest of it. England opposed his aims. Coolly he determined to wreck the British colonial empire. His first major setback occurred when Lord Nelson annihilated the combined fleets of France and Spain at Trafalgar, the year that Jefferson's second term began. At Austerlitz, in less than a month Napoleon shattered the forces of Austria and Russia, and for the next ten years lorded the land as Britain ruled the waves. There was one weapon left open to the Corsican emperor, and that was to wreck England's commerce, the artery that fed reviving blood to her

heart. In 1806 and 1807 Napoleon issued the Berlin and Milan Decrees, closing the continent of Europe to British goods, and ordering the confiscation of any ship that had stopped at a British port. England at once issued her Orders in Council, forbidding neutral vessels to trade with any country under Napoleonic dominance—and only Turkey, Russia and Scandinavia were still unconquered—unless such a vessel had stopped at a British port. War makes its own laws, callous of the rights of neutrals and bystanders. A strict enforcement of these contradictory decrees meant the extinction of neutral trade: for France would seize all ships that had touched at British ports, and Britain would seize all those that did not.

The American trade was promptly nipped by this harsh pair of armored pincers. As a neutral during the first nine years' warfare between the two great western European rivals, extending from 1783 to 1802, the United States had grown formidable in the shipping industry. Her well-built and well-manned ships transported not only the cotton, rice and tobacco of the South, the wheat and livestock of the West, the fish and lumber of New England, to all Europe, but were usually selected to bear the products of the Far East, South America and the West Indies to the European ports. American commerce had increased 200 percent since Washington's first term began. Eli Whitney's 1793 invention of the cotton gin (a machine to separate the seed from the fiber) caused our cotton exporting to increase 20,000 percent in 14 years—from 200,000 pounds annually to 50,000,000, the 1805 figure. In 1805, 70,000 tons of new vessels were added to the American merchant marine, causing the employment of 4,200 new seamen. Sailors wages, starting at \$8 a month, rose 200 percent. Hundreds of foreigners became American citizens, to share in this lucrative trade. In 1900, our merchant marine had shrunk so that only 10 percent of our foreign trade was carried in Amer-

ican ships; in 1810, more than 91 percent of it was so carried.

And now the Berlin and Milan Decrees of Napoleon, and the British Orders in Council, threatened to destroy this enormous and prosperous industry. England did not stop with confiscation of our neutral ships which acted precisely as neutrals had a right to do, that is, failed to stop at English ports. Her frigates haunted our shores from New England to Florida, stopping our ships at will on the high seas, boarding them, and impressing hundreds of our seamen on the trumped-up charge that they were deserters from the British navy. Great Britain pointed out that, during this struggle for existence against Napoleon, it was essential for her to stop desertions inspired by American high wages, good food, and decent treatment. The British conducted these searches in the most aggravating manner possible, and high-handedly impressed not only thousands of Americans, in direct violation of international law, but many citizens of other nations working on American ships, who were obviously not British seamen.

On June 22, 1807, the British ship of war *Leopard* fired upon the American frigate *Chesapeake*, killing three men and wounding eighteen more, before the American vessel was forced to surrender. The American captain's only offense had been that he had refused to be stopped and searched by the alien British for alleged deserters. This was an overt act of war. The country rose as it had risen at the musket-fire on Lexington green. From every side the President was assured of the whole-hearted support of individuals and groups, in resisting such outrageous conduct.

But Jefferson had retrenched on the navy, and war at the moment was worse than inadvisable. On December 22, 1807, Congress enacted an Embargo Act, forbidding our ships to clear our harbors for foreign ports. The intention was to starve all Europe into respect for our merchant fleet,

and save our ships from molestation. It did the latter. But it killed the commerce more effectively than any foreign act could have done. A ship rotting at the pier is as useless as machinery rusting in inaction. The merchants of New England were frantic at this sudden destruction of their commerce, by Mr. Jefferson's Republican government. They raved that the President was willing to sacrifice our merchant fleet, to foster his pet hobby, agriculture. The act was as popular with the commercial classes of the country as an outbreak of smallpox.

It became momentarily clearer that the Embargo Act would wreck not only our commerce, but the Republican party; and might precipitate a civil war, of the merchant North-east against the farmer South. In a year and a quarter, it cost the New England merchants over \$8,000,000. It was repealed on March 1, 1809, and as a substitute measure a Non-Intercourse Act with France and Great Britain was enacted. Within three days, Jefferson with some relief turned over the reins of government to the third of the Virginia dynasty, James Madison, who had been hailed as the Father of the Constitution.

Madison had apparently grown sluggish, in the quarter of a century since his brilliant work at the Constitutional Convention: sluggish, and timorous. He did not prepare for war. He did not father any effective peace policy. His diplomatic judgment was crude; he believed what he wanted to believe, no matter the source, and no matter how the existing facts might contradict the idle report. In 1809, the new British minister, Erskine, assured the new President that the offensive Orders in Council would be withdrawn. Madison at once resumed commerce with England, without waiting for government backing from England of the minister's words. At once England disavowed the agreement, and recalled its minister.

The Madison administration tried to get France and

England to bid against each other for the American trade. In place of the ineffective Non-Intercourse Act, Congress passed Macon's bill in 1810, which provided that the Non-Intercourse Act would be revived against France or England, as soon as either country withdrew its decrees inimical to our commerce. Napoleon was a master of diplomacy. On August 5, 1810, he promulgated that the Berlin and Milan decrees were annulled, and called upon Madison to live up to the American promise, and forbid intercourse with England. The British minister warned that Napoleon's word was not to be trusted: and he was right, as events soon showed.

Madison announced that the Non-Intercourse Act would be revived against Great Britain, if her Orders in Council had not been repealed by February 2, 1811. No word came from England; and again Congress prohibited all trade with England and all English colonies. In May, the United States frigate *President*, in pursuit of a British cruiser which had impressed an American sailor, a citizen of Massachusetts, was shot at by the *Little Belt*, an English sloop of war. The American boat forced the English one to haul down its flag. November of the same year, our governor of the Northwest Territory, William Henry Harrison, administered a crushing defeat on Indians at Tippecanoe Creek, in the territory of Indiana. He reported back to Washington that the Indians were using an ample store of the best English glazed powder, and that the guns had been received so recently by the Indians from the English that some of the wrappings were still on them.

Control was slipping out of the hands of the aging Revolutionary fathers. Harrison was a new figure, and Congress was loud with a new and aggressive group, including Henry Clay of Kentucky, John C. Calhoun of South Carolina, and other young men, who did not know the sufferings of war at first hand, and wanted to sharpen their spurs

against some real foe. They regarded the United States as a country entitled to respect from other nations. They insisted that we should cease a war policy of letter-writing merely: the bungling succession of ineffective and costly Congressional enactments, which had been our sole answer to repeated acts of war on the part of France and England.

Henry Clay took the leadership among these War Hawks. He was a Virginian, who had moved out to frontier Kentucky and become, through his eloquence and keen reasoning, the chief citizen of that border state. He was elected Speaker of the House in the new Congress; and when the Committee on Foreign Affairs hinted vaguely that the time had come to talk of more than notes, Clay strode down from the chair and treated Congress to such a burst of magnificent oratory as had not been heard since the thundering tones of Patrick Henry and Sam Adams at their best resounded the length and breadth of the colonies. Canada could be taken as easily as a man could catch a skunk that robbed his henhouse, he told the eager Congressmen from the West. England was no real problem, to a great country like ours. Madison shook his head, and followed timidly behind the rounded eloquence of the War Hawks.

WAR AGAINST ENGLAND

On June 1, 1812, Madison sent a special message to Congress, listing the offending actions of England. Seventeen days later, Congress declared war. England was just on the eve of repealing the Orders in Council, which clearly violated international law. Napoleon was marching half a million men against Russia, the last despotic European power still able to oppose his own despotic will. England had reluctantly decided not to antagonize further her daughter nation. But word of this came too late.

It was possible for Americans to regard every step of

the war as a triumphal march to victory, by conveniently forgetting more than every other step. We were no more prepared for war than for a Roman chariot race. Our army numbered 7,000, many of them untrained fresh volunteers. We had a navy of 15 ships, and England had more than 1,000. New England to a man was against "Mr. Madison's War"—which might better have been called "Mr. Clay's War." Vermont and Connecticut refused to furnish a single militiaman to invade Canada. The year war broke out, the American commander at Detroit, William Hull, abandoned his post, and was sentenced to death for his cowardice. He was later pardoned. Clay had said his Kentucky militia could capture Canada without other aid. A year's sporadic warfare there showed no positive results.

The British threatened to invade us from Canada. And then, the tide turned. Perry won on Lake Erie, in 1813; and McDonough, the next year, on Lake Champlain. The country thrilled when Perry sent his famous message after his victory, "We have met the enemy, and they are ours." William Henry Harrison took Hull's place, and took Detroit, trouncing the English at the battle of the Thames, October 5, 1813. General Jacob Brown marched against Canada for a final invasion. At Lundy's Lane, July 25, 1814, the best he could do was a drawn battle.

The next month, 5,000 British sailed up the Patuxent and raided the national capital. They were opposed by only 7,000 untrained recruits at Bladensburg, who were routed. The Capitol was burned, and the White House, and other government buildings containing important records. They failed in a similar attempt on Baltimore, especially when Fort McHenry resisted capture. Francis Scott Key wrote *The Star-Spangled Banner*, inspired by this defense.

On the sea, the United States did better. The *Constitution*—"Old Ironsides," the *President*, and the *United States* won repeated encounters. The Americans captured more

than 500 British ships in the first seven months of fighting, in places as remote as the Indian Ocean and below the Cape of Good Hope. The British had swaggered that not a single American ship would be permitted to cross from New York City to Staten Island; by the end of the war, they paid 15 percent insurance on their own vessels crossing the English Channel. American commerce was almost extinguished: the \$110,000,000 figure of 1807 shrinking to \$7,000,000 in 1814. Our navy was ultimately practically wiped off the seas, only two frigates remaining at the end of the war not sunk, captured or interned in home harbors.

To England, the war was never more than an incident in its fight against Napoleon. When this ended, England hastened to make peace with the United States. A treaty concluding hostilities was signed at Ghent on Christmas Eve, 1814. It left things as they were before the war started. It did not mention the right of search and impressment, which England claimed and which we resisted so bitterly. It left matters of disputes over boundaries to be settled by commissioners.

ANDREW JACKSON AT NEW ORLEANS

The chief American victory of the war of 1812 occurred after the peace treaty had been signed. It took 48 days for news of the signing of the treaty to reach New York. In the meantime, the English, rebuffed at Baltimore, picked up several thousand English veterans here who had been serving against Napoleon's forces in Spain, and sailed against New Orleans, led by General Pakenham. They had already wrecked American commerce with Europe; if they could take New Orleans, they could wreck our inland commerce as well, and use captured Louisiana to be ransomed by some American cession of land in the Northwest.

New American leaders constantly appeared, in this decade. To Harrison, Clay and Calhoun was now added An-

drew Jackson, a two-fisted Scotch-Irish Indian fighter from Tennessee. He was in charge of the little American army in the territory of Mississippi. Unlike most of our northern generals, he knew how to fight, and how to win. He turned New Orleans overnight into an armed camp. He put every man and every mule to work, and built an overnight fortifications below the city of bags of sand, cotton bales, and anything else movable.

Pakenham attacked confidently: his men could best Napoleon, and what were a handful of loud-mouthed American frontiersmen before the conquerors of the world? It was the old story of Braddock over again. The battle lasted twenty minutes, and Jackson's men bowled over the English at the rate of 100 a minute. This was on January 8, 1815; and thereafter Jackson was the Hero of New Orleans to the thrilled Americans, rising rapidly to military command against the Florida Indians, the governorship of Florida, a seat in the Senate, and finally the White House. The battle could not disturb the treaty, signed two weeks before. But it restored confidence to the war-harassed Americans. Best of all, it gave backbone to American diplomats abroad, in the turbulent score of years that followed.

THE HARTFORD CONVENTION

New England had become a unit against the war, which was wrecking its commerce so disastrously. In the election of 1812, Madison received 128 electoral votes; but De Witt Clinton, of New York, the Federalist nominee, polled 89 votes, and carried every seaboard state north of Maryland. Congress authorized an \$11,000,000 war loan in 1812. New England, the wealthy section of the country, subscribed only \$1,000,000 of this. Many New England merchants sold beef to the British forces in Canada, which, in a time of war, constituted overt treason, "adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort." By the end of the next year,

250 ships were rotting at their piers in Boston alone. The Massachusetts assembly was flooded with petitions, demanding Constitutional amendments to end this dreadful business paralysis.

At the suggestion of Massachusetts, on December 15, 1814, the five New England States sent delegates to a convention in Hartford, the Connecticut capital. These twenty-six delegates were most of the remainder of the old Federalist party. They passed resolutions denouncing the "ruinous war." They proposed a number of Constitutional amendments, intended to clip the power of the slaveholding South, to improve the condition of commerce, to slow down the admission of Western states, and to stop the Virginia dynasty of Presidents. They met secretly; and wild rumors spread abroad that they planned to secede from the United States and ally themselves with England. No such suggestion ever got into the proceedings of the Convention, as published later.

They sent representatives to Washington to "negotiate" with the government on these demands. These delegates arrived, to find the capital jubilant over the glorious news from New Orleans, and more than relieved at news of the signing of the Treaty of Ghent. The Federalist envoys returned shame-faced to New England. In the election of 1816, for the last time the Federalists put a candidate in the field—Rufus King, of New York. He received only 34 electoral votes. Another Virginian, James Monroe, was the Republican winner, with 183 votes. The party expired peacefully before the 1820 election.

CHAPTER XIV

WESTWARD EXPANSION

THE CALL OF THE WEST

DOWN to the end of the war of 1812, American eyes had largely been fixed on Europe, faced with the most sinister menace to national self-determination and the growth of democracy that occurred before 1914. With the collapse of Napoleon, a drained peace brooded over the war-stricken Old World lands. The eyes of America had opened with delight on the West in 1803, when vast Louisiana was purchased by Jefferson; and again in 1814, when Andrew Jackson's magnificent marksmen mowed down Pakenham's veterans like brittle grain. And now we turned our back largely on Europe, and began to study the brightening possibilities of our own hinterland.

The earliest pioneers had found troubled going in pressing into the West. They had been few in number and wealth. England had instigated the northern Indians to harass them, and Spain had egged on the Southern Indians. The roads were so execrable that there was no profit in raising wheat, except adjacent to a navigable river. Freight by wagon across the mountains was so expensive, that the Western farmer found the major share of his wheat destined for Virginia paying for its transportation, and the price of a plow in the West almost prohibitive. It was easy to float a cargo down the Father of Waters; but the return trip battling up against the Mississippi current often took three

months, and there was more profit in selling the boat on Canal Street and returning home by horseback.

Civilization means conquest of the obstacles in man's environment. Before 1820, one by one these obstacles had vanished into thin air. There was no real Indian menace left, after William Henry Harrison had cleaned them out of the northwest by his victory over Tecumseh at Tippecanoe in 1811; and between 1813 and 1818 Andrew Jackson taught a lasting lesson to the obstreperous Creeks and Seminoles of Florida. Fitch and Fulton, inventors of the steamboat, had at last succeeded in perfecting a craft that could go upstream as successfully as down; and the year before war broke out with England, the first steamboat puffed and chugged its way along the startled Ohio. At last a man could go from Louisville down to New Orleans and back in a month; and Gulf States products could go upstream as easily as northern products moved downstream.

Embargo, non-intercourse and actual warfare had thrown many breadwinners on the seaboard out of employment. Land in the East cost \$20 an acre or more, cash demanded; the government would furnish better land on ample credit in the west for as little as \$2 an acre. Thousands of families felt the call of the West, and began to push over the conquered mountain barriers. Similar conditions in stricken Europe sent an increasing flood of the hardier North European farm stock after the Treaty of Ghent and the end of the Napoleonic menace, and the craze for westward expansion caught them as soon as they struck the seaboard. In 1817 alone, 22,000 Irish and Germans came across. The Mohawk Valley roads and the mountain ways of Pennsylvania and Virginia were filled with this endless caravan of continent-conquerors. One gatekeeper on a Pennsylvania turnpike counted over 500 wagons with 3,000 settlers in one month.

COTTON AS THE WESTERN CROP

It was the development of the young Machine Age which made cotton the standard crop as far west as the Mississippi. Its production in the past had depended upon the market for it, limited by slow hand spinning and weaving, and upon the ease of production, seriously affected by the slow hand method of separating the cotton seeds from the fibres. England had now machinized both spinning and weaving, and could use almost as much cotton as America could produce. Eli Whitney's invention of the cotton gin speeded up the process of production immeasurably.

The cotton planters of the Carolinas and Georgia found ideal conditions in the new Western states—Louisiana, Alabama, and Mississippi. In 1810, less than 5,000,000 pounds of cotton had been raised west of the Alleghenies, $6\frac{1}{4}$ percent of the nation's total. In 1820, the three states mentioned produced 60,000,000 pounds, almost 34 percent of the nation's total. In 1825, the same states raised 150,000,000 pounds, approximately 50 percent of the total. The effect of this on the troublesome question of slavery we shall come to later. The Southern sentiment favored some sort of emancipation of all slaves, before the invention of the cotton gin. The sudden demand for more and more slaves taught Virginia and the seaboard that they could make far more by turning their plantations into breeding places to supply the demand for slaves in the West, than even by raising tobacco. Southern sentiment veered sharply against emancipation—all stemming out of Machine Age inventions made a few decades before.

THE NEW WEST AND THE BONUS SYSTEM

The growth of the new West was swiftly reflected in the census figures of 1820. New England's population increased by 85 percent in the score of years since the beginning of

the century. The thriving Middle Atlantic States showed a growth of 92 percent. Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee, during the same twenty years, showed an increase of over 320 percent.

New states came in—the shrewd rivalry of Southern slave statesmen and Northern free ones retaining the balance of power between the two sections, as far as possible. In the decade after the outbreak of the war of 1812, the following new States were admitted:

<i>Southern</i>	<i>Northern</i>
Louisiana (1812)	Indiana (1816)
Mississippi (1817)	Illinois (1818)
Alabama (1819)	Maine (1820)
Missouri (1821)	

All but one of these states, Maine, were western. By the apportionment following the 1820 census, 47 of the 213 Members of the House of Representatives, and 18 of the 48 Senators, came from the lands beyond the Alleghenies. The agricultural West was beginning to be a threat to the dominance of both South and North. But it never developed a regional interest sufficiently different from other agricultural states to take over the reins of government wholly; and, since American agriculture has never quite organized sufficiently to dominate, it has always remained an important subordinate section, increasing in importance lately with the increase of its industries.

The early Western settlers had every quality needed for success except sufficient capital. They needed this capital chiefly for roads and canals, to open up the interior sections not on navigable rivers. The western states had been organized from territory owned by the national government, and had behind them no precedents of independent existence as separate governments—which is what the original thirteen states were, both as colonies and, at first, as states. They were by nature predominantly loose constructionists at this

time, desiring aid straight from the national government; their state governments neither had the finances nor the age and experience to be able to furnish the aid needed. Nor were these improvements primarily state improvements; they were to open up the whole West, for the benefit of the whole country.

All of these elements combined to inspire the vigorous young Western statesmen, and their young Eastern supporters, to turn to the federal government for aid, on these federal improvement projects. President Madison, who had developed into a man more led than leading, urged Congress, in his last annual message, December, 1816, to give especial attention to—

effectuating a system of roads and canals such as would have the effect of drawing more closely together every part of our country.

John C. Calhoun of South Carolina, whose voice was to speak for the South for the next thirty years, and who was at this time a hearty expansionist and therefore a loose constructionist, introduced and guided to passage a bill called the Bonus Bill. The government was to receive the sum of \$1,500,000 as a bonus for its charter establishing a second National Bank. This sum, and all dividends coming to the government from its stock in the bank, were to be devoted to internal improvements. Calhoun was one of the most eloquent orators in the nation, and he made the nation resound with his plea for this project:

We are great, and rapidly (I was about to say, fearfully) growing. The extent of our country exposes us to the greatest of all calamities next to the loss of liberty, disunion. . . . Let us bind the republic together with a perfect system of roads and canals. . . .

Let us conquer space.

Liberty first, union next: even this early, Calhoun has begun to hint what his insistent life's demand is to be.

Madison had a timorous change of heart at the last moment, and vetoed the bill on the very last day he was in office. He himself had urged this very thing on Congress. But he was the Father of the Constitution, and he was not willing to stretch the elastic clause this far. He favored the object of the bill, but held that a Constitutional amendment was needed, before it could be achieved.

THE ERA OF GOOD FEELING

James Monroe, fourth of the Virginia dynasty, was inaugurated the day following this decision of Madison's. The country was in the full tide of enthusiasm, following the Treaty of Ghent and the tremendous news from New Orleans. The army had been reorganized, and placed on a permanent peace footing of 10,000 men. \$8,000,000, an impressive sum in those days, had been appropriated to rebuild a navy. In 1812, the tariff rates had been doubled, to meet the expense of carrying on the war. The rates were now raised, by the 1816 tariff bill, with a deliberate object of encouraging and fostering the still infant industries of the country; so that we might be as independent of manufacturing Europe as we were independent of political Europe. The feeling of victory was in the air. Every exhibition of narrow sectional feeling, such as the bitter Hartford Convention of 1814, was frowned upon by press and statesmen alike as the height of unpatriotism.

Shortly after his inauguration into office, the President toured the New England States and the Middle Atlantic States, the seat of the still surviving Federalist feeling. His announced purpose was to inspect national defenses. His real purpose was to strengthen the increasing Republican sentiment, especially in New England. The *Columbian Centinel* of Boston, which had waxed bitter in 1800 over the ousting of the noble Federalists and the elevation to intoxicating power of the Republican champion of the mob, now

hailed the inauguration of Jefferson's close friend and political disciple, Monroe, as the augury of "an era of good feeling." The phrase was picked up everywhere, Monroe himself taking pains to spread it throughout his entire journey. In the same autumn, he visited all the Southern states, and let it be known that the era of good feeling had at last dawned in the adolescent United States.

The Republican party had opposed Hamilton's first National Bank during the entire twenty years of life provided for in its charter. When this expired, in 1811, the strict constructionist Republicans refused to grant a renewed charter. They clung to the state banks as the financial pillars of the national financial edifice. The War of 1812 witnessed the collapse of many of these pillars. There was no standard of currency, and no confidence in financial centers. Notes of New York would not be accepted at par in Boston; notes of Baltimore banks were discounted in New York; none of the three would give any particular credit to the notes of the "wildcat banks" of the West, not backed up by gold or silver. One Senator remarked acidly that the pillars of the nation had now become the caterpillars of the nation.

The actual development of affairs taught political wisdom to the Republicans; and the very man who had led the fight on the bank in 1811 fought for the second National Bank in 1816. In 1791, the Republican press had assailed every argument of Hamilton in favor of his bank; a quarter of a century later, they reprinted his arguments reverently. In 1811, these Republican leaders had foreseen only disaster to the country, from the sinister grouping of \$10,000,000 capital in one national financial institution. They now saw no menace in one with a capital of \$35,000,000, in which the government held \$7,000,000. Confidence returned to banker and shopkeeper, and the state banks were required to hold their paper up to the same standard of value,

or go out of business. Secretary of the Treasury Dallas found the national treasury empty at the end of the war, in 1814. Three years later, he turned over to his successor, William H. Crawford of Georgia, a surplus of \$20,000,000. The United States was both prosperous and solvent.

THE POWER OF THE SUPREME COURT

In January, 1801, John Adams did the most far-reaching act of his Presidential career, when he named John Marshall of Virginia fourth Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court. Marshall had had an acceptable record as an officer in the Revolution, special envoy to France, Congressman, and Secretary of State for a brief period; but he had done nothing to indicate his enormous potentialities of strength. He was a moderate Federalist, and he held his powerful position for thirty-four years. No man with the possible exception of Alexander Hamilton shaped the policies of our nation more.

Especially after 1815, the nation was in a loose constructionist mood, which made acceptable the decisions promulgated by a bench largely inspired by the brilliant strength of the presiding judge. Cases arose repeatedly, now that foreign entanglements and warfare were replaced by peaceful competition, which called for a precise definition of the governmental powers of the nation and its states. In a number of vital cases, Marshall and the other judges rendered far-reaching decisions, in every instance supporting the national authority at the expense of the powers of the states. They were called upon to interpret definite clauses in the Constitution, and in every instance were guided by loose constructionist principles. And they always had the "elastic clause",

—to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers,

to fall back on, when a microscope could not reveal a definite grant of the power at issue.

One of these important decisions arose in the case entitled *McCulloch versus Maryland*. In 1819, the state of Maryland imposed a tax on the business of the National Bank's branch in the state, on the theory that Congress was not granted constitutional authority to establish any such bank. "The power to tax," wrote Marshall in his decision, "is the power to destroy." Congress, he held, was fully empowered to charter the bank, as a necessary and proper means of executing the laws for raising a revenue and regulating the currency. It could not be presumed that the Constitution granted any state the right to destroy one of the national creations. The state was permitted to impose equitable taxation on the land and building occupied by the bank, but was forbidden to tax its business.

A far more important decision was made in the famous *Dartmouth College* case. A Republican legislature had captured Dartmouth College from its Federalist trustees, by appointing enough supplemental Republican trustees to control. After all, the college was a creation of the legislature, and presumably the creating body had a right to thereafter control its product. Daniel Webster, a Federalist who had bitterly opposed "Mr. Madison's War," and who had been retained by the government in the case of *McCulloch versus Maryland*, which he was also to win, was the chief advocate for the Federalist trustees of the college, and lost before the State Supreme Court. When he appeared before the United States Supreme Court, with Federalist John Marshall at its head, his powerful emotional appeal had its slim legal backing in a Constitutional provision forbidding any state to pass a law impairing the obligation of contracts. A contract and a state law were clearly different things. But Webster argued that a law set up contractual relationships, when acted upon by those affected. Marshall

upheld the Federalist trustees, and thereby broadened the meaning of contract to include state legislation, which his decision held irrevocable by a later legislature.

In a subsequent decision, this was applied even in the case of a law definitely secured by bribery of the members of the state legislature. Most momentous of all Marshall's decisions was his assumption of the power of the United States Supreme Court to hold unconstitutional an act of Congress or any state legislature, which the Supreme Court held was a violation of the Constitution. This power had been three times voted down in the Constitutional Convention, when sought to be granted to this very court. But there had to be some body, Marshall insisted, charged with the duty of passing upon the constitutionality of laws; and he held that this body by implication must be the Supreme Court, rather than Congress or the President. This power has been exercised by the United States Supreme Court ever since.

THE GROWTH OF DEMOCRACY

The influence of American living upon immigrants from the Old World was obvious and widely rejoiced in. The subtler influence of these immigrants upon the American social system is more generally overlooked. Except where they had come, as in Maryland and Virginia, with definite social caste systems from the Old World, the American colonial settlers had been forced, by pioneer conditions, into a sort of rude democracy. The pioneer settlements of the West brought back this spirit, at a time when the Atlantic seaboard was increasingly tending toward the European caste systems. Enthusiasm for French democracy had died rapidly, due to the red aftermath of the French Revolution, and the dreadful Napoleonic years that had followed. The growing importance of wealth worked against democracy in the East; but the mingling of the increasing

European immigration was as potent as the westward migration in breathing life into the disorganized democratic feeling throughout the entire country.

New England had built up its own type of aristocracy, based largely upon the theocratic Puritan governing class. In 1818, Connecticut, in adopting a new charter, eliminated the religious qualification for office. The next year New Hampshire passed a Toleration Bill. The 1820 Massachusetts Constitutional Convention was the scene of a tense struggle between the old Puritan group and the powerful new Unitarian movement. The South had begun predominantly Episcopalian. But the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians were increasing in importance, and the Methodists and Baptists had already conquered the more recent settlements. The labor movement began to be vocal, as it was in England, where the young Factory System was awakening systematic protests against the harshnesses of the Machine Age as first operated against the working class. There were wide movements in favor of free public schools, and for the health and cleanliness of city living. The price of Western lands was dropped from \$2 an acre to \$1.25, and the size of homesteads from 160 to 80 acres: and both of these added to the shifting of the population westward. Madison and Monroe both stood firm against such loose construction of the Constitution, without an amendment, as was involved in national grants for roads and canals. But Congress finally ceased to heed their voices, and before 1820 at least ten acts had been passed, appropriating more than \$1,500,000 for these purposes.

AMERICAN LITERATURE AWAKES

The *North American Magazine*, the first distinctively American magazine of acceptable literary standards, made its first bow to the public in 1815. Two years later, a young New York poet named William Cullen Bryant published

his *Thanatopsis*, and struck a note more indigenous than previous poets. In 1819 Washington Irving's *Sketch Book* showed the possibility of using the real American scene for literary purposes, for all its sub-emphasis upon English country living. The first important American novelist, James Fenimore Cooper, began writing shortly afterward. Scott's first novel had appeared in England in 1814, and a flood of adventurous romances had followed it. But here were American tales exalting the American frontiersman and the allied noble Indian, and magnificent sea stories centered around the romance of our fight to conquer the sea, which fed the growing American self-consciousness as no overseas stories could.

There was outright true-talk in *Alnwick Castle*, by Fitz-Greene Halleck, one of the group of New York literati :

*These are not the romantic times
So beautiful in Spenser's rhymes. . . .
'Tis what "our President," Monroe,
Has called "the era of good feeling";
The Highlander, the bitterest foe
To modern laws, has felt their blow,
Consented to be taxed, and vote,
And put on pantaloons and coat,
And leave off cattle-stealing;
Lord Stafford mines for coal and salt,
The Duke of Norfolk deals in malt,
The Douglas in red herrings;
And noble name and cultured land,
Palace, and park, and vassal band,
Are powerless to notes of hand
Of Rothschild or the Barings.*

William Allen Butler's *Nothing to Wear* came slightly later; but the democratic impulse thrilled with his indignation :

*Oh! ladies, dear ladies, the next time you meet,
Please trundle your hoops just outside Regent Street. . . .
To the alleys and lanes where misfortune and guilt
Their children have gathered, their city have built;
Raise the rich, dainty dress, and the fine broidered skirt,
Pick your delicate way through dampness and dirt. . . .
To the garret, where wretches, the young and the old,
Half starved and half naked, lie crouched from the cold,
See those skeleton limbs, those frost-bitten feet
All bleeding and bruised by the stones of the street.
Hear the sharp cry of childhood, the deep groans that
 swell. . . .*

*Hear the curses that sound like the echoes of hell,
Then home to your wardrobes, and say, if you dare—
Spoiled children of Fashion—you've nothing to wear!*

Joseph Rodman Drake, of New York, set the land afire with the rousing patriotism of his *The American Flag*, some time after Betsy Ross had made the first American flag:

*Flag of the free, heart's hope and home!
 By angel hands to valor given,
Thy stars have lit the welkin dome,
 And all thy hues were born in heaven.
Forever float that standard sheet!
 Where breathes the foe but falls before us,
With Freedom's soil beneath our feet,
 And Freedom's banner streaming o'er us!*

America was beginning to say what she was beginning to feel. It was time for Europe to stop, look and listen.

CHAPTER XV

THE BEGINNING OF SECTIONALISM

THE CONQUEST OF FLORIDA

THE reelection of James Monroe in 1820 was, to all intents and purposes, unanimous. The Federalists put up no candidate in opposition. One elector cast his vote for John Quincy Adams, of Massachusetts, son of the second president, merely to leave the name of George Washington as that of the only President ever to be elected unanimously.

At this time, the United States did not yet dominate the North American continent. Spain's territory began at Cape Horn, and included all of South America except Brazil and Guiana. She dominated most of the Caribbean and the Gulf of Mexico, by her ownership of the more important West Indian Islands and Florida, as well as a strip called East Florida, extending from the present state of Florida to the mouth of the Mississippi. She owned Central America, Mexico, and the whole western reach of North America as far as the northern part of California, including most of the Rocky Mountain land to this side. England held all of Canada and claimed the Oregon region, reaching from California northward to Alaska. The huge peninsula of Alaska belonged to Russia.

West Florida was a thorn in the side of the United States. It was the natural refuge of fugitive Indians, escaped slaves and criminals, fugitives from justice, pirates, and robbers, who menaced both Georgia and the Mississippi territory (including the state of Alabama), and made or-

derly development here impossible. Spain had received West Florida by the treaty of 1783, and insisted that she had never parted with it. Our State Department insisted that, since it had once been part of the early French tract of Louisiana, as organized from 1682 to 1763, it had necessarily been included in the sale from Spain to Napoleon in 1800, and therefore in Napoleon's sale to the United States in 1803.

The new cotton country of Alabama and Mississippi had to have the ports of Pensacola and Mobile, as their natural outlets. It was territorially illogical to have the United States run to within a few miles of the Gulf, and then be stopped abruptly by a narrow strip of alien territory, undeveloped and menacing. The Gulf of Mexico, the State Department decided, was the logical southern boundary of the United States. Without diplomatic overtures, President Madison, as far back as 1810, had ordered Governor Claiborne of the newly organized Orleans Territory to take possession of West Florida as far as the Perdido River—the present western boundary of Florida. Early in 1811, Congress passed a secret act, authorizing the President to occupy Florida proper, or East Florida, also. Our occupation of West Florida was of doubtful legality; that of East Florida was merely national conquest. It was the protest of Great Britain, rather than that of Spain, that persuaded Madison, always fearful of provoking a quarrel, to disown the acts of his own instructed representatives, and to withdraw the American troops in 1813.

In the war of 1812, England used the Floridas as a war base against the United States. Spain had become so weakened in Europe that only the shadow of her former prestige and power remained; and she was powerless to develop or even to maintain order as far away as Florida. The reins of power were slipping from her hands everywhere—a process that ended in the brief Spanish-American war of

1898. In the 1795 treaty, she had pledged herself to see to it that Florida Indians did not cross the border and harass the citizens of the United States. She was powerless to carry out this pledge.

The Seminole Indians at last grew so threatening, that President Monroe directed General Andrew Jackson, the country's military idol as the Hero of New Orleans, to pursue them wherever they hid, even if he had to go upon Spanish territory. Jackson was a man who thrived on warfare, Indian or any other kind. He received this order in December, 1817. He wrote promptly back to the President,

Let it be signified to me through any channel that the possession of the Floridas would be desirable to the United States, and in sixty days it will be accomplished.

He did not wait for further word. He drove like a hurricane across East Florida, received the surrender of the Spanish forts at Gadsden, St. Marks, and Pensacola, put to death by court-martial two British subjects who were caught inciting the Indians and Negroes to pillage and murder American subjects. By the end of May, he was on his way back to his Tennessee, leaving Florida an abjectly conquered province.

Monroe's administration was thrust into a dilemma. If it approved publicly of Jackson's actions, it would be hard to blame Spain for any war that developed over the Floridas. If it disavowed his conduct, it would rivet Spain's hold on the desired Floridas, and make the acquirement of the lands through diplomatic methods far more difficult. John C. Calhoun, Secretary of War, was a strict and honest logician, who felt that Jackson had exceeded his instructions, and should be censured for this. He said so, in a secret session of the cabinet. The Secretary of State, polished John Quincy Adams, persuaded Monroe that it would be safe to stand behind Jackson, and bluff the matter through. This

was the course adopted. Adams wrote to the American minister in Madrid,

We shall hear no more apologies from Spanish governors and commandants of their inability to perform the solemn contracts of their country. . . . The duty of this government to protect the persons and property of our fellow citizens on the borders of the United States is imperative—it *must* be discharged.

The cabinet meeting dealing with the Florida question was later to determine, at a critical time, who should be President.

But by this time Spain's South and Central American colonies had revolted, under the inspiring leadership of Bolivar and San Martin, and had established independent republics—the 1808 overthrow of the Spanish dynasty by Napoleon being the general signal for the uprisings. Spain saw nothing to do but to abandon Florida to the United States. The treaty of cession was signed on February 22, 1819, in Washington. American citizens claimed about \$5,000,000 from Spain, for damages to our commerce during the Napoleonic period; in return for this obligation, Spain ceded the whole of Florida to the United States. The treaty also settled the western boundary of the Louisiana purchase, by a line running from the Sabine River in Texas north and west to the forty-second parallel of latitude, like a set of stairs, and so west to the Pacific.

Our eyes were keenly fixed on the developments in Spanish America, during these hectic years. Between 1811 and 1817 we maintained "consuls," who were little more than spies, at Caracas, Buenos Aires, and other headquarters of the continental revolt. Henry Clay, still the impetuous War Hawk, did his best to force President Monroe into an immediate recognition of the newly formed republics. But the Secretary of State, John Quincy Adams, had his heart set

on securing Florida, and did not wish to do anything to offend Spain until that matter was settled.

THE MONROE DOCTRINE

The events of 1821 altered the whole policy of the United States toward recognition of the South American republics. The final ratifications of the 1819 treaty were signed, which made Florida permanently ours. The House of Representatives voted, 86 to 68, to uphold the President in recognizing the young republics to the south. The czar of Russia sealed off the Alaskan coast from all non-Russian vessels, forbidding them to approach within one hundred miles of what he claimed as his coastline. Most important of all, the four selfish nations of Russia, Prussia, Austria and France organized a Holy Alliance to restore all the dynasties overturned by Napoleon; and they began to heed the Spanish insistence that they pacify Madrid and restore the country to the original dynasty; and at the same time conquer the rebellious South and Central American republics, and deliver them again as colonies to Spain.

On May 4, 1822, President Monroe recognized the independence of the republics. The Congress at once prepared to send ministers to them. Two powers of importance alone opposed this purposed action of the Holy Alliance, Great Britain and the United States. The young republics had ceased trading with Spain, and, by this time, they had built up an annual trade of \$3,000,000 with England. England had no intention of losing such a fat market for her manufactured goods. The United States was stirred by rumors that the Americas were already divided in anticipation by the members of the Holy Alliance, France to have Mexico, and Russia to acquire California, and perhaps Chile and Peru in addition, in payment for delivering the rest to Spain. It looked as if Europe, with its bloody squabbles, would be removed bodily to America, and we would sud-

denly find ourselves in the midst of hostile powers that altered allegiances at a moment's notice, and kept perpetually in a ferment of bloodshed and warfare.

George Canning, the British premier, tried out Richard Rush, the American minister to the court of St. James, upon the proposition that the United States join with Great Britain in ordering the Holy Alliance to leave the South and Central American republics severely alone. This was at once communicated to President Monroe, and he fell in heartily with the idea. The two living ex-presidents, the aged Jefferson and James Madison, when called on for their opinions on the suggestion, heartily approved of it, in spite of George Washington's insistence on no foreign alliances and entanglements.

John Quincy Adams, who ever proved himself a shrewd adviser, though always lacking in personal popularity, differed sharply from this advice. We ought not to trail after England, he said,

like a cockboat to a British man of war;
we should make it our own task to protect the republics on the American continent, Jefferson and Madison could not forget the France that had overthrown the French Revolution; Adams remembered mainly two of his name who had sponged the name of England off the territory of the United States. It was Adams who advised President Monroe to get ahead of the English by announcing independently the warning that Canning had suggested. And so, in his annual message to Congress, on December 2, 1823, President Monroe included, at the suggestion of Adams, the famous Monroe Doctrine, which controlled our national policy for well over a hundred years.

The Monroe Doctrine was fourfold:

1. We agreed not to interfere with the European methods of government.

2. We agreed not to disturb existing European possessions in the two Americas.
3. The two Americas were "henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers."
4. Any attempt to extend the Holy Alliance to the Americas we would regard as dangerous to our peace and safety.

In 1822 we had recognized the South and Central American republics. In 1823 we announced that we would defend them against any European interference. We appointed ourselves guardian of the two Americas, and told the Old World to keep off. In return, we agreed not to interfere with European methods of government.

Washington, in his Farewell Address, had spoken against foreign alliances: but he spoke in an hour when it was assumed that the Americas would forever belong to European nations, except for the freed thirteen colonies. This went immeasurably further, and hinted at our designs to combine the Americas into one free and voluntary union, when once the other constituent members desired it: in the meantime, warning Europe to keep hands off. The doctrine has not shrunk, with the years: we have used it as an excuse for annexing territory to the United States, to prevent European nations from annexing it; we have used it as an excuse for taking over governments, such as Haiti and Nicaragua, and coercing others, such as Cuba and Mexico, to collect debts due us, to require conduct up to our standards, to secure a permanent orderly foreign market for our commerce and industries. The first portion of the Monroe Doctrine, concerning interfering with European methods of government, went by the boards when we entered the World War of 1914, and played a part in the victory and the subsequent peace terms. It was a very arrogant doctrine, when announced by the young United States in 1823.

It seems less so today, and we still regard ourselves as the policeman and guardian of the two Americas. So far, this role has not been successfully challenged.

THE FAVORITE SONS

In the ten years that followed the enunciation of the Monroe Doctrine, that all the disputed matters which had been fought out between loose constructionists and strict constructionists—the bank, the tariff, federal appropriations for internal improvement, a larger army and navy—continued to be fought out, but with entirely different alignments. They suddenly became objects of sectional dispute, rather than of two diverse schools of thought roughly as large as the country itself.

This sectional rivalry first reared its ugly hydra head in the Presidential election of 1824. Monroe had had no opposition at all in 1820. Four years later, there was no single candidate acceptable to South, Northeast, and West. A tremendously able group of statesmen took the center of the stage—all men who had begun with nationalistic ideas of one form or another. The swift development of sectional rivalries altered each one of them into the spokesman of a section only. The men were the voices of the period and the narrow sectionalism.

New England was represented by John Quincy Adams and Daniel Webster. Adams was a trained diplomat, the son of a staunch Revolutionary patriot and Federalist President. He had had diplomatic experiences at the courts of England, France, Sweden, the Netherlands, Prussia, and Russia. Between 1803 and 1808 he represented Massachusetts in the Senate. With a shrewd intention of securing New England support at a time when New England meditated secession, in spots at least, Monroe made him Secretary of State in 1817, and for two full terms he made a brilliant, subtle, and executive American premier. He never

secured popularity: he was a rigid unbending Puritan to the end. He rose daily before dawn, read his Bible with meticulous regularity, and listed in his diary his soul struggles side by side with matters of international policy.

Daniel Webster, fifteen years younger, was the son of a New Hampshire farmer—a quaint local character, famed for his wise sayings and emotional political judgments—who had gone through Dartmouth by family scrimping, and started off on a brilliant legal career. He had been Congressman from his home state from 1813. He moved his law office to Boston, and soon was picked to represent Massachusetts in the House, and then the Senate. His emotional plea in the Dartmouth College case before the United States Supreme Court, his Plymouth oration on the bicentenary of the landing of the Pilgrims in 1820, and his speeches in Washington, made the Northeast look to him as the nation's greatest orator. He was sure always of a tense hushed audience when word went around that Daniel Webster was to take the floor. In his personal business relations, he had no Puritan morality, and, following legal ethics, was ready to take the side of a case which paid him a proper retainer.

The Middle Atlantic States had no men of this calibre. Albert Gallatin, who had been Secretary of the Treasury under Jefferson and Madison, was a brilliant financial executive. His Swiss birth made him ineligible to the Presidency. Rufus King of New York was badged with his long Federalist affiliations—he had been three times candidate for President or Vice-President on this unpopular ticket—and his main reputation was as an anti-slavery orator. De Witt Clinton had been twice governor of New York and once Federalist candidate for President. He was great for his vision which resulted in the Erie Canal, opened in 1825, which united the Great Lakes to the Hudson through the Mohawk Valley, and for an enlightened attitude toward

education. But he was wrapped up in local New York politics, and made no threat in 1824 for the Presidency. Nor did the Middle Atlantic States yet have sufficient sectional consciousness to make them demand an outstanding voice in that tense year.

The South had two outstanding figures. William H. Crawford of Georgia was a huge man with a huge and commanding mind. He had become Senator in 1807, at thirty-five, and had had the war and treasury portfolios in the cabinet from 1815 to 1825. He almost secured the nomination for the Presidency instead of Monroe in 1816, even against Madison's espousal of the cause of his fellow-Virginian. He never quite rose to the commanding position of Adams, Webster, Calhoun, and the two great West-erners.

John C. Calhoun was an austere South Carolina Scotch-Irish Presbyterian of the hill country, educated at Yale and the Litchfield Law School in Connecticut. A saint in his private life, the extreme opposite of the typical convivial Southern planter, he became the voice of the slaveowning South for thirty-five years. He had been War Hawk and loose constructionist in 1812, and was Secretary of War for the eight years of Monroe's term, during which time he slowly altered into the most ardent states' rights man in our history. He is beloved in the South next to Robert E. Lee. Adams excelled him in shrewd tact, Webster in impassioned devotion to his client's cause. No American ever excelled him in honesty, cordial devotion to what he held right, and magnificent logical argument in its behalf.

The West had no native sons: it was too young. It had three figures of great national importance, Benton, Clay, and Jackson. Thomas Hart Benton, whose like-named grandson is one of the foremost world painters of today, was a North Carolinian, who had migrated to Tennessee and then to Missouri. In 1821 this state sent him to the

Senate. He held a commanding position in it for thirty years, a savage apostle of westward expansion.

Henry Clay was the War Hawk chiefly responsible for the War of 1812, and, for most of his political life, representing border Kentucky, to which he had migrated from Virginia, he sought to reconcile conflicting ideas by compromises. He was a facile leader of men, at home in a pioneer tavern as in a European drawing-room. He was the most winning speaker in Congress, if not the most eloquent. He was one of the great group of national idols who barely missed the Presidency, James G. Blaine and William Jennings Bryan being among the others. He lacked the rigid honesty of Calhoun, and was too willing, like Douglas, to sacrifice future integrity for temporary advantage.

Andrew Jackson, a Scotch-Irishman from the Carolinas as Calhoun was, moved to Tennessee, and became its greatest fighter, patriot, and politician. His victory of New Orleans made him the national military hero; his conquest of Florida made this position surer. He would brook no opposition, and he won whatever he went after. Clay fought him for life, as the opposite in every way of a suave compromising statesman, and a continuing menace to Clay's advancement. Jackson had entered Congress as far back as the administration of Washington, in 1796, a backwoodsman, tall, lanky, uncouth, with his hair straggling down over his face, and a cue in an eelskin dangling behind his head. When he rose to speak, he was often too choked with anger to get out a word. He was a man of action, not words: our country has had few men of action to compare with him.

THE 1824 FIGHT FOR THE PRESIDENCY

The four oldest of the favorite sons of New England, the South, and the West—Monroe's cabinet officers Crawford and Adams, Henry Clay, and General Jackson—laid

their plans between 1820 and 1824 to achieve the Presidency. Webster, Benton and Calhoun were only forty-two, and waited. Up to this time, Congressional caucuses had been the method of securing Presidential candidates. But there was only one party of any importance now, the Republican: and this meant that the inevitable conflicts took place inside the party, instead of between parties. The same condition for years existed in the post Civil War Southern states which had no real Republican opposition; the factions within the Democratic party being the equivalent of parties elsewhere.

Crawford was first in the field, and managed to secure the nomination by Congressional caucus. But the South was no longer dominant in Presidential elections. No seaboard Southerner has been elected President since Monroe, last of the Virginia dynasty. Jackson and Polk were from Tennessee, a border state between the sections, and regarded as Western then. In spite of their Southern births, Harrison was from Ohio, Lincoln from Illinois, Wilson from New Jersey, when they ran for the Presidency. Tyler and Johnson were Vice-Presidents elevated to the office through the deaths of their predecessors. The rest have been Northerners or Westerners. Already, so subtly that it was not noticed, the Southern spokesmanship had moved southward to South Carolina, in the person of Calhoun; after him, a South Carolina migrant to Alabama, William Lowndes Yancey, became Southern spokesman until the Civil War; and since then no Virginian has assumed this role. The South remained enormously powerful for decades; but the mantle of Elijah had fallen westward.

The other Republican candidates did not feel bound by the action of the Republican Congressional caucus. The growing democratic feeling throughout the states made this method of hand-picking candidates by party leaders unpopular. New England looked askance at Southern arrogance

and Western bumptiousness, and one by one its states declared for Adams, nominated both by state legislatures and by mass meetings. The West was most alert sectionally of all. It put up two candidates, opposites and bitter rivals in everything. Tennessee, Alabama, and Pennsylvania pledged themselves for Jackson; "Old Hickory" clubs were formed throughout the country for him, and men wore black silk vests with his likeness stamped upon them. Kentucky, Missouri, Ohio and Louisiana legislatures came out for Clay. In New York there was a frantic scramble, shared in by all four rivals, for the 36 electoral votes of the state; and each contestant secured some. The final vote in the electoral college stood: Andrew Jackson, 99; John Quincy Adams, 84; William H. Crawford, 41; Henry Clay, 37.

No candidate had a majority—that is, more than half of the electoral votes. By the 1804 Twelfth Amendment to the Constitution, this threw the election in the house. Jackson came closest to the nation's choice. The House had to decide between the three leading candidates. This eliminated Clay: and he played petty politics, instead of national statesmanship. Jackson was his bitter rival in the West. Adams was a suave diplomatic person, much as Clay was; the two men's ideas coincided much more than Clay's with the ferocious effectiveness of the "military chieftain," the name Clay always used sneeringly of Jackson. So Clay threw his support to Adams, and the House elected him the sixth President.

Adams at once named Clay to the highest position in the cabinet, Secretary of State.

The Jackson men were frantic. The will of the people had been nullified by a foul secret compact. The House was morally bound to choose the leading candidate, and it had betrayed its trust. Henry Clay, the "Judas of the West," and the aristocratic Adams had corruptly bargained to keep the old Hero of New Orleans out of the reward

the people intended for him. Jackson appealed from Congress to the people themselves. He resigned his seat in the Senate, and spent the next four years in a campaign to oust Adams, Clay, and the whole dynasty of cabinet members.

THE PRESIDENCY OF JOHN QUINCY ADAMS

John Adams was President for four years, and he did not deviate from his strict Puritan principles during this time. Jackson was organizing the shirt-sleeved democracy of the West, the wealthy Southern planters, even the malcontents in New England, in the tense fight to deprive Adams of a second term. Adams refused even to be a President representing New England; he stood for the nation, in an hour when the sections were growing more formidable in their mutual rivalries.

In every way the Jackson men sought to thwart every action of the President. The republics of Mexico, Colombia, and Central America decided to hold a congress on the central Isthmus of Panama to form a league to oppose hostile action on the part of Spain or any other European nation. This was merely making more effectual the Monroe Doctrine. In 1825, the United States was politely asked to join the congress. Adams named two envoys to represent us at this Panama Congress. But the slaveholding South sniffed danger in the plan. Emancipation from Spain had carried with it a movement for Negro emancipation. If Cuba and Puerto Rico became republican, the blacks there would be freed. Haiti, already a free Negro republic, might be admitted to the congress: the United States would then be forced to admit its ministers to this country. A Southern Congressman thundered,

The peace of eleven states of this Union will not permit black consuls and ambassadors to establish themselves in our cities and parade through our country, and give their fellow blacks in the United States proof in hand

of the honors which await them for a like successful insurrection on their part.

Adams won this fight, in the end. One of his envoys died en route to Panama. The congress had adjourned before the other one arrived.

The West had ceased being loose constructionist, as it began to feel its power, and would have nothing to do with federal payment for internal improvements. Stop the sale of western lands to eastern speculators, the West demanded truculently, and we'll pay for our own canals and roads. Stop the iniquitous tariff duties which are making Northerners rich at our expense, the South insisted, and there'll be no money left to spend "in charity" on roads and canals.

The state of Georgia belligerently defied the whole administration, and won its point. The large and powerful Creek and Cherokee Indian nations occupied much of Georgia's fertile soil, and since 1802 the government had promised to remove them; but they were still there when Adams took office, and Clay made a treaty with them, permitting them to remain for at least two years more. Governor Troup of Georgia had already begun a survey of the lands as state property. Adams warned the governor not to interfere with the nation's faith toward the Indians. Troup responded that Georgia was "sovereign on her own soil," and informed the Secretary of War that he would—
resist by force the first act of hostility on the part of
the United States, the unblushing ally of the savages.
The Senate, inspired by the Jackson men, refused to support the President.

And now a new problem, that of the tariff, rose suddenly into major national importance.

CHAPTER XVI

THE REIGN OF ANDREW JACKSON

THE TARIFF OF ABOMINATIONS

THE failure of the national policy of transportation improvements through federal appropriation was costly to the development of the country. It was during this period that the railroads began. The Mohawk and Hudson, which grew to be the New York Central, started in 1825; the Boston and Albany two years later; the Pennsylvania the same year; the Baltimore and Ohio in 1828. The first promoters of railroads offered them to the United States, if it would build and own them. The offer was rejected, the chief reason given being a disbelief that the railroads would ever be practicable; the powerful underlying reason being sectional and state jealousy of federal power. The history of the country would have been greatly altered, especially in the control of state legislatures by railroad lobbies and fights for national control of rates, if railroads had been put on the same footing from the start as the other means of transportation, roads and waterways.

The wholesale destruction of our commerce by the War of 1812 drove American capital into manufacturing, instead of ship-owning. By 1815, \$100,000,000 was invested in manufacturing industries in the United States, with 200,000 workers. The close of the Napoleonic wars found England surfeited with unsold manufactures, which Napoleon had prevented her selling to Europe. Great Britain began dumping these goods into America, to get rid of them at prices

so low that our young industries could not possibly compete with them, and were threatened with extinction. In 1816 alone, England sent goods to this country worth \$90,000,000, or almost half our capital invested in manufacturing.

We still hated England. We were full of national pride, and saw every need to be able to compete even in manufacturing with England and Europe. Accordingly, in 1816 a high tariff bill was passed, raising the high 1812 rates between 15 percent and 20 percent. This act found nationwide support. Even the non-manufacturing states aided its passage, hoping to build up manufactures of their own. The states below Virginia knew that 95 percent of the country's manufacturing was in the hands of the other states; and they did not realize that their slave population rendered manufacturing practically impossible.

The English dumping process continued. Northern manufacturers importuned Congress to lay still higher duties, and wall English goods out entirely; or they would all be ruined. In 1824 a bill passed the House by the bare majority of 107 to 102, and the Senate by 25 to 22. This raised the average tariff duty from 20 percent to 36 percent. The 1816 tariff was piling up a surplus in the treasury, with all current bills paid. Only three Southern votes were cast for this bill. The South knew by now that it was to be a cotton-raising country; and this tariff patently taxed it, to support the Northern mills and factories. The price of raw cotton dropped as the crop increased; the price of manufactured goods rose as the tariff rose. The condition grew so serious that John Randolph of Roanoke said that, if the process continued, it would become so impossible for the slave owners to clothe their slaves, that instead of the masters advertising for fugitive slaves, the South would see the slaves hunting for their fugitive masters.

When the South failed in its effort to outvote the high tariff group, it did the only thing left: it denied the right of

Congress to lay a protective tariff. The Constitutional grant of power to Congress was limited to a tariff to raise a revenue. There was no power to lay a tariff that would tax one section at the expense of another. The North was increasing constantly in population, due to free labor, small farms, manufacturing, and encouraged immigration; the South needed far fewer people to run its farms. This meant a larger and larger Northern preponderance in the House of Representatives. The final outcome, the Southern spokesmen said, was that the South would be—

reduced to the condition of a subject province.

In 1827, Northern woolen and iron manufacturers pleaded insistently for a still higher tariff. Thomas Cooper, president of South Carolina College, said that when Massachusetts manufacturers, through their majority in Congress, determined to tax the South, it was—

high time to calculate the value of the Union.

A higher tariff bill was introduced in 1828. The Southerners resorted to a sardonic trick to defeat it. Instead of trying to amend the bill by inserting lower rates, they joined with the Western agricultural interests in making them ridiculously high. The 1828 election was near, and the plan was to make a tariff bill so absurd that it would fall of its own weight, and so bring further discredit upon the New England President. New England wanted high duties on manufactured woolen goods, cordage for shipbuilding, and manufactured iron; and low rates on raw wool, hemp and pig iron. The South stepped up the duties on the raw materials, while retaining the high ones on the manufactured goods; and thus the sheep raisers of Ohio and the Middle West, the hemp-growers of Kentucky, and the iron miners of Pennsylvania, were alike pleased. This absurd bill passed the House 105 to 94, was carried in the Senate 26 to 21, and was signed by the President on May 19, 1828.

CALHOUN'S EXPOSITION AND PROTEST

This bill was promptly called the Tariff of Abominations. Randolph pointed out that it really had to do with no manufactures except the manufacture of a President. The South rose in arms. Flags were lowered and flown at half mast in Charleston and elsewhere. Speakers urged a boycott of all trade with the protected states, and the resignation of the Southern members in Congress. Senator Hayne of South Carolina wrote Jackson that his state was practically unanimous in the belief that this protective tariff would ruin the South and destroy the Union. Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi and North Carolina joined the protest.

Vice-President Calhoun presented to the South Carolina legislature his famous attack on the tariff, the *Exposition and Protest*. He held that the act of 1828 was unconstitutional, since no power was granted to Congress to lay a tariff except for revenue. He held that it was sectional, since it forced the South to pay over two-thirds of the customs duties, though the South had only a third of the membership in the House of Representatives. He held finally that the Constitution itself was an agreement or compact between independent states, and that this creature of an agreement could not itself be the judge of its own powers. The states had granted to Congress what powers it possessed; the grantors alone had the power to decide whether any action overstepped the powers granted. At any time a state might challenge any act of Congress, and the judges in such a dispute would be, not the national government, but the various states. If such a challenge was made, Congress could only ascertain its powers by securing the passage of an amendment, ratified by three-fourths of the states, which delegated to it the powers under dispute.

Down to the last step in this argument, it was thoroughly logical. But this suggestion of Calhoun's set up an extra-

constitutional machinery for settling disputes concerning the powers of Congress, and such an extra-constitutional machinery itself would need constitutional amendment to become a part of the government's functioning. The matter of passing on the constitutionality of an act of Congress had been left indefinite by the Constitution; and this had been done purposely, as Madison's *Journal* later showed.

THE ELECTION OF JACKSON

Adams, for all his ability, was never popular; and Jackson was a belligerent popular idol. The Adams-Clay party had drawn so far away from the Jackson-Calhoun-Crawford wing, that it adopted the name of National Republicans; the latter group called itself the Democratic Republicans. Jackson, who had had a plurality of 50,551 in 1824, almost tripled this in the 1828 election. The electoral vote was 178 to 83, Calhoun continuing as Vice-President by almost as large a vote. Jackson carried every Southern and Western state, Pennsylvania, and the majority of the New York electors. The "corrupt bargaining" of 1824 had been avenged.

The reelected Vice-President, Calhoun, Jackson's teammate in victory, advised South Carolina to wait, before definite action, in order to give Jackson an opportunity to remedy the outrageous tariff situation. Jackson was a Southerner. He was a slaveowner. The South had supported him unanimously for the Presidency. It was inconceivable that he would side with the Northern manufacturing capitalists against the South's vital interests. The warfare was stilled, while the cowhide-booted democracy surged into the White House for the inaugural, scarring with their muddy boots the damask chairs, slopping orange punch on the thick-piled carpets, and almost mobbing the Hero of New Orleans, as they roared into his deafened ears that at last American democracy pure and undefiled was in the saddle,

and them Eastern rich folks had just as well skedaddle while the skedaddling was good.

The Presidents before Jackson had regarded themselves as executives, elected to carry out the wishes of Congress. Jackson did not look at things that way at all. He had always led, and he had no intention of taking orders now. He looked upon himself as the champion of the mass of the people, against corrupt legislators and judges, debauched by big money and overlong office holding. He referred to himself as a reincarnated Roman tribune, defending the common folks against patrician oppression.

It had been Congress which had kept him out of the Presidency for four years, he decided; and he faced his tenure of office with vindictive exultation. He was strong-willed by nature, and autocratic military command had not softened him a bit. The general tendency of American statesmen has been to begin as hardshells, patriots, libertarians, strict constructionists, and radicals, and to soften ultimately into the opposite. Jackson never softened. He knew that he worshipped America. It was an easy step from this for him to decide that all who disagreed with him were enemies of America. He was never out of personal quarrels, and was as belligerent on an unimportant matter as on an important one. He had been embittered by his wife's first husband's unbased charges against Jackson concerning the wife in his divorce proceedings; and by his wife's death in 1828, just on the eve of his victory. Jackson's Secretary of War, John Eaton, had married a widow who had been known in her girlhood as Peggy O'Neill, daughter of a Washington tavern keeper. There was gossip about her character, and Mrs. Calhoun led the wives of the cabinet members in refusing to accept her as a social equal or receive her socially. Jackson warmly espoused her cause; and shrewd Martin Van Buren, Secretary of State, a bachelor, obsequiously followed his chief in this. This matter was

quite as important to Jackson as agitation over the tariff or the bank.

He held firmly that consistency was a vice of little minds. In 1816 he wrote that party spirit was a monstrous thing, unworthy of a great and free nation. In 1829 he proved to be the most partisan President the United States ever knew. In the first nine months of his administration he removed over 1,000 government officials to make room for his campaign supporters; the previous six Presidents had altogether made under 100 similar removals. He is given general credit for inaugurating this "spoils system," whose motto is "To the victor belong the spoils." He had always inveighed against Congressmen becoming cabinet members; he chose two-thirds of his first cabinet from Congress. His annual messages denounced second terms for Presidents; after 1830, he announced himself as a candidate in 1832.

He was supremely uninterested in the tariff, vital as it was to the country. He barely mentioned it in his first message to Congress, and in his next one supported the right to lay a protective tariff, and the benefits of protection.

THE GIANTS DEBATE

An important part of the national revenue for years had come from the sale of western lands. Eastern speculators, attracted by the low price per acre, purchased these largely, and held them for a higher price. Senator Foote of Connecticut in 1829 moved that no more public lands should be sold for a time, to prevent this speculation. The South and West surged to their feet at once. Clearly this was a selfish plot of Eastern merchants, to stop westward emigration and maintain a mass of cheap factory labor, just as their tariff was designed to permit them to charge a toll on the rest of the country for their products.

Senator Robert Hayne of South Carolina, in his speech opposing the resolution, digressed from the matter of the

sale of public lands, to castigate Massachusetts, and the North in general, for their sectionalism. He thundered that Massachusetts had shown a narrow, selfish, sectional spirit from the beginning of the nation. The Union of free republics, which the Fathers had intended the country to be, could only be preserved, he said, by resisting to the last the economic tyranny of the manufacturing states, which practically owned Congress. As for a method, he urged that proposed by Calhoun in the *Exposition and Protest*.

Daniel Webster rose in reply, to deliver what is usually regarded as the most eloquent speech ever made in Congress. He first took up the cudgels for his adopted state, and claimed high and patriotic motives for its actions. He denied that the states had made the Union:

It is, sir, the people's Constitution, the people's government, made for the people, made by the people, answerable to the people.

The Constitution appointed the Supreme Court, he said, to declare laws null and void which stepped beyond Constitutional grants of power. If this authority were given to the states, Pennsylvania might annul one law, Alabama another, Virginia a third, until the government would fall to pieces, our national legislature become a mockery, and our Constitution a mere theme for debating and dispute between the sections of the country. The Union would necessarily fall apart, in such a contingency. The states would return to the anarchy they knew under the Articles of Confederation, and our flag,

stained with the blood of fratricidal war,
would in the end float over

the dismembered fragments of our once glorious empire.

The South frothed at the lack of accuracy and logic in this picture; New England went wild with delight over it. At a Jefferson's birthday dinner, on April 13th following, when called on for a toast, Jackson responded with,

"Our federal Union—it *must* be preserved!" Calhoun dauntlessly replied with the toast, "Liberty dearer than Union!" The lines were tensely drawn between the party of Calhoun and Hayne, to whom the Union threatened to become the murderer of liberty, and the party of Jackson and Webster, to whom it stood as the one guarantee of liberty. South Carolina seethed with talk of nullification. The Union men pointed out that their course might bring war. The South Carolinians demanded to be told whether the—

descendants of the heroes of 1776 should be afraid of war!

NULLIFICATION AND THE COMPROMISE

South Carolina waited until something conclusive was done by the Jackson Congress. In the summer of 1832, the long awaited tariff bill was finally enacted. Its schedule of duties was lower than those of the Tariff of Abominations; but it was still definitely protective. The Southern delegation at Washington wrote home to their constituents that no relief was to be looked for from Congress.

A convention to act on the question of tariff was called to meet in Columbia, South Carolina, in November, 1832. By the overwhelming majority of 136 to 26 it declared that the tariff acts of 1828 and 1832 were "null, void, and no law." The citizens of South Carolina were directed to pay no duties under these laws after the first of the ensuing February. The convention did not stop there. It announced that any attempt by the national government to enforce the objectionable laws within South Carolina, such as closing her ports or seeking to harm her commerce, would be a justification for secession of the state from the United States. Governor Hamilton promptly summoned 10,000 volunteer troops to defend the state in the emergency.

Many Presidents would have retired, before this formi-

dable front. There was nothing on earth that Jackson would retire before. He proclaimed at once:

I consider the power to annul a law of the United States, assumed by one state, incompatible with the existence of the Union, . . . Inconsistent with every principle on which the Constitution was founded, and destructive of the great object for which it was formed.

Nothing made the old warrior happier than to sniff conflict from afar. He wrote to the collector of the port of Charleston,

In forty days I will have 40,000 men in the state of South Carolina to enforce the law.

Sixty days to conquer Florida, forty to raise an army to conquer 580,000 people. The threat of civil war was on the country at last, and Jackson was the last man in the world to shrink from joining battle with any enemy.

Calhoun had resigned the Vice-Presidency to enter the Senate as the voice of South Carolina and the South. He called on Henry Clay to aid in finding some method of reconciling the claims of the belligerent Southern state with the peaceful continuation of the Union. Clay detested the "military chieftain" scowling gauntly at the Capitol from the other end of Pennsylvania Avenue, and did not look gleefully on the prospect of the conqueror of Pakenham and the Seminoles leading another army against one of the states of the Union. He devised a compromise tariff, by which the duties were to be reduced gradually over a period of nine years, until in 1842 they would have climbed down to the level of the 1816 tariff. This bill passed both legislative houses and was signed by the grim President on March 2, 1833. With the same quill Jackson signed his Force Bill, which gave him authority to use army and navy, if necessary, to collect the tariff in South Carolina.

No use carrying a thing too far: especially with Andrew Jackson on the other side of the fight. The South Carolina

nullification convention repealed its ordinance of nullification thirteen days later by a vote of 153 to 4. Everybody was satisfied. The South Carolinians were jubilant over the fact that their courageous stand had forced the national government to meet its wishes and lower the tariff. The Jackson party were grimly content that they had made the belligerent little state repeal its nullification act. The Union was preserved, thanks to the strong hand of the strong man in the White House. But there was no peace between the embattled sections of the country. South Carolina had led the way in claiming the right to secede. She did not withdraw this claim. A score and a half years later she said it again, and led the way in plunging half a continent into that fratricidal strife that Webster had foreseen so long before.

THE FIGHT AGAINST THE BANK

Jackson was reelected in 1832 by an increased plurality, and an electoral vote of 219 to 49 over Henry Clay. The campaign issue was primarily the matter of rechartering the second National Bank. It had \$8,000,000 of government deposits, \$6,000,000 of private deposits, a yearly profit of \$3,000,000, a main office and twenty-five branches, and more than 500 well salaried employees, who constituted a continuing lobby for its continuation. Its stockholders permeated every county in the country and every country on the globe. One-fourth of its stock was held by trustees of funds for charity, women, and orphans. Its notes circulated like gold in places as remote as Russia, Egypt and India.

The managers of the bank admitted that they had spent \$58,000 in the effort to defeat Jackson in 1832—but not until after the bill to recharter had been vetoed by Jackson. It was generally known before that time, and the amount exaggerated. The extreme democrats were suspicious of such an aggregation of capital in the hands of the selfish and unprincipled rich. They insisted that it corrupted gov-

ernment by favoring the wealthy, and standing against equal rights to all and special privileges to none. Jackson had fought it from the first. In his first message to Congress, he had uttered this antagonism:

Both the constitutionality and the expediency of the law creating the Bank are well questioned by a large portion of our fellow citizens.

The charter did not expire until 1836. Jackson's continued sniping at it injured its credit in the eyes of the nation. Nicholas Biddle, its president, on the advice of Clay, Webster, and others of the pro-Bank party, applied to Congress early in 1832 to have the Bank's charter renewed, although it still had four years to run. The bill passed the House of Representatives by the comfortable majority of 107 to 86.

The apparent intention of this premature application was to force Jackson to sign the bill, rather than injure his chances for reelection. A timorous man might have fallen into this trap; but never Jackson. Jackson shot the bill back to Congress with a veto message which, as Clay wrote, contained—

all the fury of a chained panther biting the bars of his cage.

The veto message assailed the Bank as a menacing monopoly, managed by a coddled class of wealthy citizens, which opposed the people's will and warped the government to its selfish aims. He announced that it was keeping the West impoverished, by concentrating money in the East. The Supreme Court, in *McCulloch versus Maryland*, had upheld the constitutionality of the bank. With cutting logic Jackson pointed out that the President was quite as amply empowered to pass upon the constitutionality of a law as the Supreme Court:

Each public officer who takes an oath to support the Constitution swears that he will support it as he understands it. The opinion of the judges has no more

authority over Congress than the opinion of Congress has over the judges, and on that point the President is independent of both.

There was nothing in the Constitution to controvert this logical statement of the situation. Only the iron will of John Marshall ultimately altered it.

But Jackson was by no means through with the Bank. He won the election overwhelmingly. Jackson read in his landslide vote an order from the American people to go forth like a David and slaughter the wicked capitalistic Goliath. Jackson the Giant-Killer. . . . A special investigating committee found nothing wrong with it. Senate and House voted confidence in it. But one provision in the Bank's charter allowed the Secretary of the Treasury to withdraw the government deposits, if he gave Congress his reasons. Jackson tried out Secretary of the Treasury McLane. He refused to give the order. Jackson moved him upstairs to the State Department, and named William Duane Secretary of the Treasury. When Duane refused to order the Bank deposits moved, Jackson summarily dismissed him, and discovered in Roger B. Taney, of Maryland, his Attorney-General, a man who agreed to strike the needed blow against the "monster." He named Taney to the Treasury post, and instructed him to order that after October 1, 1833, the government would withdraw all monies in deposit in the second National Bank, and use instead certain "pet" state banks. And this was done.

Congress had been in recess, during the fight that resulted in this body blow to the bank. When it reconvened, it refused to confirm Taney's appointment. But Jackson did not forget a loyal aid; and in 1835, when John Marshall died, Taney was named Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court, and confirmed after a bitter fight. By 1837, five of the seven judges were Jackson appointees, and the old Federalist loose constructionists had given way to

Democrats, largely Southern. We will come later to Taney's Dred Scott decision, so potent toward precipitating the Civil War.

The fight on the bank came at one of our periodic moments of boom-time expansion, when steam railroads and the growing manufacturing interests were anxious to borrow large sums of money, to invest in everything, counting on a continuation of the boom. The young Western states led the way, Indiana running up a debt of \$20 per citizen for 1,200 miles of railroad piercing her farms and woodlands. The number of "wildcat banks" in the West doubled in the eight years of Jackson's Presidency. Sales of Western lands jumped 380 percent in the two years following 1834. Purchasers paid for these lands in the paper money of the western banks, which grew less and less valuable. In 1836 Jackson issued the famous Specie Circular providing that only gold and silver money could be received in payment for the purchase of public land. The western banks did not have "hard money" to lend. The boom collapsed. Land purchases dropped 95 percent in one year. Building construction ceased, western railroads stopped operating, nine-tenths of the eastern factories closed their doors before September 1837. For the second year crops failed. The Hessian fly ruined the eastern wheat fields. Flour rose to \$12 a barrel. Many in New York and Philadelphia were at actual starvation, and rioted constantly, wrecking flour warehouses. Six hundred banks crashed, including the 50 pet banks that held the government funds. Our credit abroad ceased, and foreign trade practically stopped. We faced a \$10,000,000 Treasury deficit, at the end of the depression. Under Van Buren, who succeeded Jackson, government funds were removed from banking entirely, by the adoption of the Sub-Treasury System, the government storing its money in huge vaults in New York, Philadelphia, Boston,

St. Louis, Charleston, and New Orleans. We did not go to the banks for aid again until the Civil War period.

THE STATE OF THE COUNTRY

Political fights and even economic depressions are not nearly so important to history as mankind's inventions, and the slow social history of the people. The invention of the McCormick reaper, in 1834, altered our future more than any war could. Development of iron smelting in Pennsylvania in 1836 by the use of the anthracite coal fields precluded the modern age of steel, which has replaced the age of wood. The 1839 application of the screw propeller to seagoing steamships opened the path to the mighty liners of today. The 1830 first steam locomotive alone made an empire reaching to the Pacific practicable. Within ten years the 23 miles of railroad had increased almost 10,000 per cent, and steel railroads ran from New York to Georgia. Passenger and freight traffic grew enormously, and railroad cities began to assume greater importance than the earlier cities on navigable water had.

Labor became vocal. The first national convention of a labor party took place in Philadelphia in 1833, demanding higher wages, fewer hours of work, improved sanitary conditions in factory and shop. Strikes began, when these demands were denied. Mechanics' lien laws were demanded, giving structural workers prior claim upon buildings they constructed. Free labor protested against convict-made goods as unfair competition, and called for free public education for their children. 75,000 men were sent to jail annually, for mere inability to pay debts: labor protested against this absurd injustice.

A general democratic revolution made this vocal protest on the part of labor possible. In Washington's time, we were in reality a modified aristocracy, with six out of seven adult males excluded from voting by high property qualifi-

cations or religious tests, as in Colonial days. General manhood suffrage was the ideal of the Jacksonian period, and extensive revision of state constitutions made the country increasingly democratic. Terms of office were shortened, and appointment by the governors was replaced by direct election, for both executive officers and members of the judiciary. Only the national government did not alter its method of selection.

National nominating conventions came in, to replace caucuses of party leaders, and legislative endorsement of presidential candidates. These both picked candidates and announced a platform, to which the candidates were pledged. Baltimore witnessed three such conventions, in 1831 and 1832. The Anti-Masons, a party formed against the secret order of Masons, suspected of corrupting the government and of worse offenses, was first to meet, nominating William Wirt of Maryland as its candidate. In December, the National Republicans met, and picked Henry Clay. Calhoun would have been Jackson's running-mate, except for the unfortunate part played by his wife in the Peggy Eaton affair, his sturdy anti-Jacksonian attitude on the tariff, and most of all Crawford's unethical revelation of secret cabinet meetings in 1818, when Calhoun had proposed that Jackson be recalled and court-martialled for exceeding instructions in the conquest of Florida. It is true that Jackson's splendid warfare had finally added the oldest European settlement on the continent (St. Augustine, settled by the Spanish in 1565) and the outlet to the Gulf, to American territory, and that Calhoun's opposition had altered in this particular. But Jackson could never forgive criticism, and turned from the strong Carolinian to a New York machine politician, Martin Van Buren.

And so the Jackson men, calling themselves Democrats, met in May, 1832, and indorsed the ticket, Jackson and Van Buren. At first each state had only one vote; later the

present plan was adopted, of each state having twice as many delegates as its combined representation in Congress. The *Charleston Mercury*, as early as December 1832, advised the opponents of "King Andrew" to call themselves Whigs, as King George's Revolutionary opponents had called themselves Whigs. The nucleus of the new group of Whigs was the Henry Clay National Republicans. States' rights Southerners joined these, constituting a party less in favor of any united objective, than in bitter opposition to Jackson.

In the Whig convention of 1840, a secret ballot of Clay's enemies shelved him in favor of the Indian fighter, William Henry Harrison. Jackson's handpicked choice, Van Buren, won by a small plurality of the popular vote, and by 170 to 73 in the electoral college. Three other Whigs, including Daniel Webster, received electoral votes for the presidency. The cards were stacked against Van Buren, from the start. The panic of 1837 was laid at his door, though his mighty predecessor had brought it on. He was a wealthy New Yorker, a rich widower, who was pictured by campaign spellbinders as living in royal splendor in the White House, eating off golden plates. The democratic West could not stomach this picture.

Clay lost the nomination in 1840, because he was too prominent, and had a record of defeat behind him. Many Jackson men who detested Van Buren could be counted on to rally behind any Whig except the wasp-tongued Clay, who had spent his life fighting Jackson. And Clay was a slaveholder, and these were becoming increasingly unpopular. The Whigs picked Harrison as standard bearer, giving him as running mate John Tyler, a Virginia Democrat and slaveowner, to attract Southern votes.

Harrison, his fondness for hard cider and his log cabin, caught the popular fancy, amid roars of "Van, Van, is a used-up man!" and "Tippecanoe and Tyler too!" Van

Buren received a fair popular vote, but was smothered in the electoral college by 234 to 60. The reign of Jacksonism was over; and a new problem, slavery, was henceforth to be uppermost in our history for a turbulent score of years.



Andrew Jackson, Man of the People (1767-1845)

CHAPTER XVII

SLAVERY AND THE MEXICAN WAR

THE HORRORS OF THE MIDDLE PASSAGE

IN 1619, a Dutch trading vessel brought twenty slaves from the West Indies to Jamestown. By 1720, 25,000 more had been brought in, as field hands in the tobacco and rice fields of the South, or as house servants as far north as New England. During the next century, England held the monopoly of the traffic, and even Queen Anne and her courtiers built fortunes from the profit of this merchandising human labor power.

The slave traders, as a rule were brutal and callous, kidnapping the free African Negroes, and chaining them in the stifling hell of the "middle passage" from Africa to the West Indies—the triangular course being rum from New England to debauch the Africans, slaves from Africa to the West Indies, and sugar and molasses from here to New England, to make more rum. The outraged colonists passed laws forbidding this trade; England vetoed these. The Negro thrived only in the Southern climate; and by 1800 every state north of the Mason-Dixon line, except New Jersey, had provided for the abolition of slavery, immediate or gradual. The South favored abolition almost unanimously at this time. The invention of the cotton gin, as we have seen, which let one man do the work of 200, made slavery so profitable—with the farming done in the westward states, and the seaboard used to breed slaves for fieldhands—that this sentiment vanished, and the South searched the

Scriptures for Biblical endorsement of the practice. The Constitution amply recognized slavery, and protected the slave trade for twenty years from Congressional interference.

Abolition petitions began in Washington's first administration, and continued until the Civil War. Yet the slaveholders were dominant, under the Virginia dynasty, and our national legislation attested this. Kentucky came in in 1792 as a slave state. A fugitive slave law was passed the next year, allowing a runaway slave to be reclaimed by his owner in any state without jury trial, by mere judicial action. Tennessee was formed as a slave state out of lands ceded by North Carolina three years later, the acceptance of the cession including a national promise not to exclude slavery in the territory at issue. In 1798 Mississippi Territory was organized, with slavery permitted. In 1805 Congress defeated a bill to emancipate slaves in the District of Columbia. In 1812 slave Louisiana was admitted, making three new slave states, with only Vermont and Ohio free admissions.

Missouri applied for admission as a slave state in 1818. Tallmadge of New York moved an amendment, prohibiting the introduction of further slavery, and providing that the children of slaves there should be free at twenty-five. The House passed this, the Senate defeated it. Four Northern states and slaveowning Delaware petitioned Congress against admitting Missouri as a slave state before the 1819 session. The inhabitants of Louisiana territory, purchased from Napoleon (which included Missouri) had been guaranteed protection of their property; and slaves were recognized by the Constitution as property. The children of slaves were property too: the South rose in arms against the proposal of this property's being destroyed by Congressional action.

THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE

The slave and free states were evenly balanced at the moment, which made the decision in the case of Missouri all the more important. The Constitution allowed Congress to admit new states to the Union; it did not empower it to dictate on what terms they were to come in, even by implication. The Tallmadge men replied that the power to admit meant the power to admit on the government's own terms, or reject; and pointed to the precedents of the free states of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, admitted with this proviso. The South claimed that these states might even now vote in slavery, and were not bound by the Congressional prohibition.

The South grew subtle in its reasoning. If slavery was an evil, why not spread it wider, and so dilute it? The slave trade was ended; slavery would be less of a menace, if widespread. This overlooked the fact that slaves multiplied naturally, as dollars and houses did not.

Maine, a part of Massachusetts since 1677, secured the consent of Massachusetts to apply for admission as a separate state, with an anti-slavery constitution. To quiet the debate, the Senate added the Missouri and Maine bills; and substituted for the Tallmadge amendment the one offered by Senator Thomas of Illinois, forbidding slavery in Louisiana Purchase territory north of 36 degrees 30 minutes north latitude, except in Missouri. Monroe, a Virginia slave-owner, signed the bills in March, 1820, after every cabinet member except John Quincy Adams assured him that the prohibition of slavery applied only to territorial existence, and ended as soon as statehood was granted.

The South won the legal argument; the determined North began to emphasize the moral and ethical sides of the question. At once the South began to insist that slavery was no evil to be tolerated, but the Christian salvation of the

Negroes. The northern Abolition movement began to strengthen. In 1821 Benjamin Lundy, a New Jersey Quaker, adopted Negro emancipation as his life mission, and started a weekly periodical, *The Genius of Universal Emancipation*. He planned colonies of freed slaves in Haiti, and travelled widely preaching his doctrine. Such activity ended the anti-slavery societies of Virginia, Maryland, and other southern states, which had preceded similar northern societies, and made free discussion in the South impossible, the local leaders dubbing it treachery to the South's best interests. The South had sponsored the plan of purchasing the slaves and establishing a colony of them in Africa. In the 40 years after 1820, 10,500 Negroes were sent over—only one-twelfth of the annual birth-rate among the slaves! And this had cost \$1,806,000.

In 1828 Lundy converted a young Boston printer named William Lloyd Garrison, who promptly left Lundy behind him in a radical demand for complete and immediate emancipation. He parted with Lundy and in 1831 began publication of his own *Liberator*, in which he announced that he would neither think, speak, or write with moderation. He denounced the Constitution as—

a covenant with death and an agreement with hell, and burned a copy publicly, to show his horror of its legalization of slavery. This hardly endeared him to the South, shocked by the 1831 massacre of sixty white men, women and children in Southampton County, Virginia, by a fanatical Negro preacher and slave named Nat Turner, and his followers. The South at once demanded that the North silence the incendiary abolition literature, and legislated severely against both slave and free Negroes. In Delaware, six Negroes were forbidden to assemble. Virginia gave thirty-nine lashes to any slave found with a gun. Tennessee legalized the death of a slave under the lash. Northern men among the professional and mercantile classes were as bitter

against Garrison as the South. Boston tarred and feathered Garrison on the Common. Northern free Negroes were discriminated against throughout the North. Opposition to slavery was one thing; but immoderate abolition was decidedly another.

THE FIGHT OVER SLAVERY

After 1834, Southerners in Congress became belligerent on all suggestions of lightening slavery made in Congress. A petition from Philadelphia Friends in 1836 for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia was described by Calhoun as—

a foul slander on nearly one half of the states of the Union.

The right of petition for redress of grievances appeared in the opening of the Bill of Rights. Yet Southern and Northern opponents of abolition in 1836 passed the first of the "gag resolutions," ordering all petitions relating in any way to slavery to be laid on the table without further action, without even being printed or referred to a committee. John Quincy Adams, who upon his retirement as President had quietly entered the House of Representatives, where he was for years called "Old Man Eloquent," pointed out that this resolution flatly violated the Constitution. It was passed by a vote of 117 to 68.

The Senate rejected all abolition petitions, and its Southern members united behind Calhoun's demands: Protection of slavery by the national government in the South—no further attacks or even discussions of slavery in the North—no more abolition agitation concerning Florida or the District of Columbia. When leading citizens of Charleston in 1835 broke into the postoffice and publicly burned a sack of abolition documents, Postmaster-General Amos Kendall declared that he would not compel any postmaster to deliver abolitionist mail. An 1836 law severely punished any post-

master who intentionally detained mail; but no law could change Southern sentiment.

In the same year James G. Birney's *The Philanthropist*, a Cincinnati abolition periodical, was attacked by a mob, his office sacked, and he himself forced to flee for his life. He was a converted Alabama slaveowner. In 1837 Elijah Lovejoy's printing press was thrice wrecked, and an Alton, Illinois, mob shot him when he continued to publish an abolition paper. Against the advice of the extremists like Garrison, the abolitionists of the Middle eastern and western states in 1838 formed the Liberty Party, elected one Congressman in 1838, and gave Birney 7,000 votes for President two years later. Calhoun reversed the lesson of all history in his summary of the situation in 1834:

The poor and uneducated (Northern white laborers) are increasing. There is no power in representative government to suppress them. Their numbers and disorderly tempers will make them in the end the enemies of the men of property. They have the right to vote, and will finally control your elections, invade your houses, and drive you out of doors. . . . They will increase till they overturn your institutions. Slavery cuts off this evil at its roots. . . . There cannot be a durable republic without slavery.

The South's opinion had changed measurably since the wise emancipation views of Washington, Jefferson, and the other founders of the nation. How could moral and ethical arguments move the South to surrender a billion dollars worth of slaves, and a billion dollars consequent depreciation in the value of their farm lands? Surely eternal justice demanded wisdom and fair compensation, if this drastic change in the fundamental laws and institutions of the United States was to be enacted. No persuasive wisdom appeared, nor was fair compensation generally offered. While the rest of the civilized world was quietly freeing its slaves,

the angered Southern states enacted laws to make it outlast the pyramids.

OREGON AND TEXAS

The East did not bow gracefully to westward expansion. As far back as 1811, when it was proposed to raise Louisiana to statehood, Josiah Quincy of Massachusetts proclaimed on the floors of the national Congress,

If this bill passes, it is my deliberate opinion that it is virtually a dissolution of the Union, since it would permit Western Senators and Congressmen to legislate concerning Atlantic seaboard affairs. When Jacksonian democracy broke down this spirit, the matter of slavery began to permeate every proposition to admit further western states. Slavery finally came to a crisis not through opposition between the free North and the slave South over the status of these two sections, but in their determined fight to control the West.

Both the United States and England claimed the Oregon territory, we from a voyage into the mouth of the Columbia River in 1792 by a Boston captain, Gray; the Lewis and Clark Expedition of 1804-1806; and an 1811 trading post established by John Jacob Astor. England had several trading posts established by the Hudson's Bay Company north of the Columbia. In 1818 we agreed with England to share the territory for ten years; and in 1827 this agreement was indefinitely extended. In 1832 Massachusetts colonists settled Fort Vancouver, and soon Methodists and other religious bodies began missionary work among the Indians in the region. Dr. Marcus Whitman, a New York missionary, was the most vigorous worker in this field. By 1843, we had almost 1000 settlers in the territory.

Mexico revolted successfully from Spain in 1819. In her northerly state of Texas, more than 20,000 Americans had settled by 1830. When their number threatened Mexican

dominance, President Bustamente of Mexico in that year forbade further immigration from the United States, and joined Texas, strongly Protestant, to a Catholic province, Coahuila, to the south. Encouraged by Americans across the Sabine River boundary line, on March 2, 1836, Texas proclaimed its independence, and pushed the Mexican troops across the border. President Santa Anna led back a punitive expedition, at the San Antonio mission of the Alamo, massacring 166 Texans, and at Goliad exterminating the defenders after their surrender. A former governor of Tennessee, General Sam Houston, led 750 Texas volunteers against Santa Anna's army of twice its size at the San Jacinto River, and crushed the Mexicans. Texan independence was established, and Houston was made President of the young republic of Texas.

As far back as 1827, President Adams had offered Mexico \$1,000,000 for Texas; Jackson had made two offers, going as high as \$5,000,000. Both houses recognized the new republic, but Jackson refused to make a treaty of annexation, though all Texas desired it. In view of the youth of the new republic, Mexico could have regarded this as a cause for war. Nor would northern Van Buren favor annexation. Harrison, successful Whig candidate in 1840, also opposed annexation. But he died a month after his inauguration, and the Virginia Democrat Tyler, the Vice-President, took the Presidency. Tyler promptly vetoed a Whig bill rechartering the National Bank, was read out of the Whig party, and every member of his cabinet except Secretary of State Webster resigned at once.

Webster retained his seat until he could conclude a treaty with Lord Ashburton, the English envoy, over the northeastern boundary between Maine and New Brunswick. In August, 1842, this was successfully concluded, and early the next spring Webster retired. His successor, Upshur of Virginia, began negotiating for the annexation of Texas.

He was killed by the explosion of a new gun on the battleship *Princeton*, and Calhoun took his place. The annexationists shrewdly added a demand for the annexation of Oregon, to make clear that their project was not merely Southern, as a means of adding more slave territory.

Britain in 1843 refused our offer to make the line of 49 degrees north the boundary; and Mexico notified us that any steps toward annexing Texas would be regarded as an act of war. Mexico had mortgaged her lands north and west of the Rio Grande to England, as security for a \$50,000,000 loan; and England was prepared to go to any sacrifice to secure Texas under her own control, as an outlet for her manufactured goods. These things spurred American determination to secure both regions. In April, 1844, Calhoun sent his treaty for the admission of Texas to the Senate. The Senate rejected this, many Southerners opposing it as a slap at Calhoun, at outright lobbying on the part of speculators in Texas lands, and through doubts of the constitutionality of annexing a foreign country.

In that year, the Whigs nominated Henry Clay; the Democrats turned down Van Buren, and selected Governor Polk of Tennessee, a hearty advocate of annexation,—the first “dark horse” in our political history; a dark horse being an obscure or unmentioned candidate who noses out ahead of the favorites and wins the race. The Democrats fought the campaign for the re-occupation of Oregon and the re-annexation of Texas: holding that we really owned Oregon by discovery, settlement, and treaty, and Texas by the Louisiana Purchase of 1803. Clay, the Great Pacificator, rode a middle course, both for and against annexation, and insisting that slavery had nothing to do with the issue. Disgusted Whigs in Michigan and New York switched to Birney, the Liberty party candidate, in sufficient numbers to carry those states for Polk. A close popular vote gave Polk 170 electoral votes, to 105 for the Great Pacificator.

Tyler held that the vote authorized annexation, had both houses of Congress approve it, and signed the bill three days before his term expired. Texas came in on very liberal terms, accepting the Missouri Compromise line in the north of her territory, and providing that four states could be carved out of Texas, with boundaries that she approved. The Oregon campaign slogan had been "Fifty-four Forty or Fight." But a fight with Mexico was clearly inevitable; and wisely the Oregon dispute was settled by our accepting the line of forty-nine degrees north latitude as the boundary.

WAR WITH MEXICO

Texas was legally an independent country at the time of the annexation; and, unless the United States was at fault in egging on its fight for independence, there was nothing illegal in the transaction. John Slidell of Louisiana was sent as envoy to negotiate boundary disputes with Mexico, Texas and the United States claiming all the lands down to the Rio Grande. Two Mexican presidents of the revolution-torn land refused him audience, and he was sent back in August, 1846. Polk sent the Whig general Zachary Taylor to the border, to meet Mexican mobilization south of the Rio Grande. The Mexican leader crossed the stream, and killed and wounded 16 Americans on a scouting expedition, April 24, 1846. Congress almost unanimously voted \$10,000,000 and 50,000 men for the prosecution of the war, and Taylor drove the Mexicans back across the river, and proceeded during the remainder of the year to capture the capitals of three of the northern provinces.

Polk sent Commander Sloat to seize California, with 6000 white inhabitants who were too remote to feel Mexican authority, and gladly welcomed the invaders. General S. W. Kearny started with 1800 men from Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, and at Santa Fé defeated a Mexican and Indian army of 4000 men. Leaving a garrison here, and

sending Colonel Doniphan with 850 men to march overland to join Taylor at Monterey, he himself set out with 100 men to trek 1500 miles over to San Diego, California, and join Stockton, who had succeeded Sloat. Mexico was offered a fair peace, and spurned it. General Winfield Scott, a veteran of the war of 1812 and a Whig, was directed to land at Vera Cruz and push up through the mountains to the capital city. Santa Anna with 20,000 troops struck at Taylor's army, not one fourth as large, at Buena Vista, and was defeated.

Scott penetrated to the very gates of Mexico City, and halted only at Polk's insistence, to give Mexico one more chance at peace, offering a large sum of money for the cession of the two conquered western regions. The Mexicans demanded both banks of the Rio Grande, and California as far north as San Francisco, with ample damages for all the American troops had done. Santa Anna had an army of 30,000 men against the American besiegers. Scott stormed the guarded hill of Chapultepec, and on September 30th raised the American flag over its palaces.

Polk had been negotiating for peace steadily throughout the war. The treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, arrived at February 2, 1848, gave California, New Mexico and Texas to the United States, and bound it to pay \$15,000,000 in cash to Mexico, and to assume American claims against Mexico amounting to \$3,500,000. Many Americans urged Polk to annex all of Mexico, but he would not hear of this.

With Oregon, Texas, New Mexico and California annexed, the United States reached its present lines, except for the 1853 Gadsden purchase from Mexico of a small strip of land for \$10,000,000, which critics of the Mexican War describe as conscience money; and for Alaska and our island possessions. We had the land: the problem remaining was what to do with it.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE 1850 COMPROMISE

ORGANIZING THE MEXICAN CESSIONS AND OREGON

THE accession of this new land gave us a coast line of 1000 miles on the Pacific, and made China and Japan our next door neighbors. Ever since the Lewis and Clark Expedition, American explorers had been pushing into the rich mineral lands and the forests and plains beyond, most famous of these being John C. Fremont, the "Pathfinder," who made four trips to California and Oregon in the six years before 1848, and whose tiny force cooperated with Sloat and Stockton in their conquest of California. The original area of the United States, in 1783, had been 830,000 square miles. The Louisiana Purchase added 875,000 more, and the Floridas 65,000. Texas alone included 390,000 square miles; Oregon, approximately 290,000; and the 1848 Mexican cession, 520,000 more—or nearly 1,200,000 square miles of new American land.

On the day the bill providing for peace appropriations was introduced into the House, David Wilmot of Pennsylvania offered an amendment stating that—

Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude . . . shall ever exist in any part (of territory acquired from Mexico).

The House was anti-slavery, due to the increase in Northern population. It passed the amendment at once. The Senate, thanks to the new slave states of Florida and Texas, had a pro-slavery majority, and defeated it.

The Oregon territory had been acquired two years before New Mexico and California, and its organization was taken up first. This was northern territory, not suitable for cotton, rice, or tobacco, or indeed for Negro slavery at all. The Southern radicals were unwilling to leave slavery out of anything; and Jefferson Davis of Mississippi, who with William Lowndes Yancey of Alabama became the chief spokesmen of the slave states in the sunset of Calhoun's power and afterwards, introduced his Davis amendment, nothing shall authorize the prohibition of slavery in Oregon, so long as it is a part of the territory of the United States.

This amendment was voted down. But it was clear that both North and South were dissatisfied with the Missouri Compromise, since Davis wanted slavery admitted north of the compromise line, and Wilmot wanted it prohibited south of the line.

A new doctrine, known as "squatter sovereignty," was proposed by Lewis Cass, a son of New Hampshire who had become Democratic Senator from Michigan. By this, the new territory should be thrown open to free and slave state settlers alike; and the preponderance of these would settle whether the application for statehood ultimately included slavery or a prohibition of it. He assumed that the suitability of the lands for slaves would determine whether they came in or not; he overlooked the bitter efforts of north and south to win the disputed western lands.

In 1848, the Democrats nominated Cass, who had supported Polk and opposed the Wilmot Proviso. The Whigs put up General Zachary Taylor, military hero of Buena Vista, a Louisiana sugar planter who owned slaves, but was no extremist in regard to the extension of the institution. For years he had not even voted. The campaign cry was "Old Rough and Ready," in an endeavor to recapture the enthusiasm for the old Indian fighter Harrison. The Liberty party

was broadened into the Free Soil party, who came out flatly for the limitation and discouragement of slavery. They pulled Van Buren out of his retreat as their candidate, and made their slogan "Free soil, free speech, free labor, free men." The Liberty party had demanded the abolition of slavery even in the South; the Free Soil party accepted the Constitutional protection of Southern slavery, but sought to forbid its extension westward.

The Free Soil party failed to carry a single state, but their influence cut into Cass's vote in the pivotal state of New York, and gave it to Taylor, who carried the country by 163 electoral votes to 127. But history was being made in California, while politicians pleaded for support for or against slavery. Gold was discovered in the Sacramento valley in California before the Mexican peace negotiations began, and a mad rush to the gold fields commenced. In 1853, \$65,000,000 was taken from the mines; in fifty years, more than \$2,000,000,000 was produced. The long stormy route around Cape Horn, the difficult trek across miasmatic Panama, the awful trans-continental march through deserts and bad lands, did not discourage the gold-frantic Easterners, who were willing to risk discomfort, starvation and Indian massacres to arrive at the fabulous gold coast. In one year, 1849, California's 6000 population increased over 1400 percent.

It was the propertiless Northerners who were free to make the dangerous trip, rather than the slave-burdened Southerners; although a number of the more reckless spirits here trekked west as well. The "Forty-niners," or gold-rush miners, convened at Monterey in September, 1849, and drew up a constitution prohibiting slavery without a dissenting vote. In December of that year, when Congress met, California stood at the door, constitution in hand, asking statehood as a free state. And it was clear that New Mexico would knock at the same door within a year or two, for

its citizens were already organizing. The question of slavery in the new western lands could not be ignored.

THE OMNIBUS BILL OF 1850

The galaxy of Senators who convened to consider this problem at the end of 1849 was never equalled for brilliance, in the whole history of the United States. For the last time the three great rivals, Calhoun the fanatical Southern saint, Webster the shrewd American Demosthenes, Clay the eternal mediator, were assembled together. Old Tom Benton was there, and persuasive Lewis Cass; and a number of new leaders who were to dominate history until the Civil War was upon us: Bell the middle course man, Douglas the Elisha of squatter sovereignty, Jefferson Davis the apostle of extreme Southern rights, and three definite anti-slavery Senators, Seward, Chase, and Hale. The House consisted of 112 Democrats, 105 Whigs, and 13 Free Soilers, a small bloc holding the balance of power, and able to swing any decision either way.

The session opened in a furore. Robert Toombes of Georgia, a prominent pro-slavery Representative, in the tense fight for the speakership, declared that if the slave-owners were driven from California and New Mexico, he was ready for disunion. And now the veteran Henry Clay came forward with his final effort to pour the oil of compromise on the turbulent waters of sectional feeling. The South demanded California slave, and New Mexico slave, at least below the Missouri Compromise line; Texas with its 1836 boundaries; slavery in the District of Columbia; a strict fugitive slave law, excluding jury trial for alleged runaway slaves. The North demanded free California and New Mexico, a reduced Texas without compensation, abolition of slavery in the District, and full jury trial for every alleged fugitive slave. How could these flatly contradictory

claims be welded into a single bill which could secure a majority from the embattled sections?

Clay proposed:

1. California admitted as a free state.
2. New Mexico divided by the 37th parallel of north latitude into Utah to the north and New Mexico to the south, both organized on squatter sovereignty.
3. The boundaries of slaveholding Texas cut down almost 30 percent, but Texas to be reimbursed \$10,000,000 to pay her old war debt.
4. Slavery permitted in the District of Columbia, but the slave trade forbidden there.
5. A stricter fugitive slave bill.

This all-embracing legislation was promptly christened the Omnibus Bill, since it had left out practically nothing of momentary importance.

Clay spoke first, fathering the tremendous compromise. It was known that he had emerged from his retirement to make this final effort to harmonize warring South and North. He spoke with his persuasive eloquence hardly dimmed by the bleak passing of the three decades and more since, as a War Hawk, he had thundered in defense of the united country, and demanded prompt military action to fend off foreign oppression. His life was over, nor had life ever granted him his chief ambition, passing him by for lesser followers. Let that pass. . . . The union must be preserved.

Calhoun was scheduled to speak on March 4, 1850. His body, enfeebled by consumption, was incapable of rising in the Senate chamber. He sat by with his brooding eyes still flashing defiance, while Senator Mason, his colleague, read the final utterance of the most distinguished spokesman the South ever had. There was no hope in these words. Compromise was too late, he said. The rights of the slaveholders had been ravished so fully, by the aggressive North, that

no palliative could cure such incurable dissension. The South had never attacked the institutions of the North, nor menaced her property, nor invaded her sacred constitutional rights. Let the North hush forever her agitation against slavery, gladly surrender the fugitive slaves, and restore to the outraged section her rights throughout the Union and in all newly acquired territory. Failing this, the ties of union would be broken to the last one, and the Republic must inevitably split into warring sections. As Mason's voice throbbed away into silence, it was clear to see that Calhoun's last word had been spoken. He knew it would not be heeded: he may have foreseen that lesser, harsher tongues would take up his message, and see that it was less than the truth. Within the month, his eyes had closed for the last time.

Three days later, Daniel Webster rose. He was four-square on record against the extension of slavery into any new territory. He was the idol of the North, including the abolitionists. He spoke in favor of Clay's compromise. He loved the Union, he said, more than he hated slavery. New Mexico could never go slave:

I would not take pains uselessly to reaffirm an ordinance of nature, nor to reenact the will of God. I would put in no Wilmot Proviso for the mere purpose of a taunt or a reproach.

A fugitive slave law had always been on the statute books; why trouble over a few sharpened claws in it? The abolitionists claimed the right to place their consciences above the law itself. Civilization could not endure in such anarchy. Let the South push the awful thought of secession out of their souls, and cherish the Union forever.

The Free Soilers cried out at once that the temptation to be President, even at his advanced age, had corrupted his integrity forever. The sturdy Quaker poet John Greenleaf

Whittier spoke, in *Ichabod*, the disappointment of the idealists in the tardy altered attitude:

*So fallen! so lost! the light withdrawn
Which once he wore!
The glory from his gray hairs gone
Forevermore!*

*Revile him not, the Tempter hath
A snare for all;
And pitying tears, not scorn and wrath,
Befit his fall. . . .*

*Let not the land once proud of him
Insult him now,
Nor brand with deeper shame his dim,
Dishonored brow. . . .*

*All else is gone; from those great eyes
The soul has fled:
When faith is lost, when honor dies,
The man is dead!*

*Then, pay the reverence of old days
To his dead fame;
Walk backward, with averted gaze,
And hide the shame!*

So spoke the conscience of the North. We need blame anything beyond love of the Union he had always striven for this belated effort to cement it together.

The old giants had spoken. And now the new voices were raised. William H. Seward, an anti-slavery Whig from New York, spoke for the moral and ethical aspects of the fight against slavery. He opposed the compromise as vicious, because it surrendered the principle that animated those who opposed slavery. He went beyond the legal argument entirely. Though the Constitution might support slavery, there

was a higher law than this, the moral law: and it could never tolerate slavery. After him spoke Senator Salmon P. Chase of Ohio, a Democratic convert to the Free Soil movement. He charged that Clay's compromise was a cowardly surrender to the demands of the slaveowners; that they, and not the North, had been the aggressors from the start, since the hour when they had forced the Constitution-makers by threats and intimidations to admit slavery into that great document. Chase's speech was wildly cheered by the anti-slavery forces; but it was not rich in historical knowledge.

It was known that Seward's influence was so great over President Taylor, that no bill including any extension of slavery had a chance of presidential signature. Suddenly Taylor died, on July 9th; and Vice-President Fillmore of New York, who entered the White House, was known to be in favor of the compromise. The bill was passed and received Fillmore's signature. Of all its features, the strengthened fugitive slave law was the greatest victory for either side. According to it, the fugitive was not allowed a trial either in the state where he was apprehended, or the one to which he was taken. The magistrate's fee when he surrendered the Negro was double that when he declared the Negro free—a rather subtle provision. The alleged fugitive was forbidden to testify for himself. Every citizen, at the marshal's summons, must aid in recapturing an alleged fugitive. The impressment of American seamen that brought on the war of 1812 was not as unfair a business as the pursuit of alleged escaped slaves under this law.

THE BREATHING-SPACE AFTER 1850

Most Americans thought that Clay's Omnibus Act had settled forever the disputes over slavery. The wise few knew better. Clay was renamed "the Great Pacificator". Before the passage of the bill, Southern delegates met at

Nashville to decide on what conditions the cotton states would continue in the Union. After the Act was passed, all such agitation simply died down.

The North slowly grew restive under the hideous provisions of the fugitive slave law,—which might at any moment be employed to trap a free Negro in the North, and reduce him without appeal to slavery and worse. The newspapers, the preachers, the politicians joined in condemning it. Hundreds of mass meetings announced their intention of resisting it. For years an organized route of escape for slaves, called the “underground railway,” had existed in Pennsylvania, New York, and across the Ohio, to expedite the process of escape. Leading citizens were proud to engage in this act of legal robbery and human mercy, and with marvelous secrecy passed fugitives from hand to hand until they reached Canada, where at least the law did not operate. Such actions were easy, under the old law; they were seriously criminal under the new.

In 1852 the Whigs put up General Winfield Scott, the hero of the drawn battle of Lundy’s Lane in the war of 1812, and of the attack on Mexico City. The Democrats nominated General Franklin Pierce of New Hampshire. The Whigs carried only four states. The business men of the country were tired of the eloquent struggles over slavery, and wanted an uninterrupted chance to pile up more profits. It was this sort of truce that occurred during Pierce’s presidency.

The South seemed at last on the way to riches. By 1850 its annual cotton crop had reached \$100,000,000 in value; and constituted more than half of our national exports. The Southerners came to believe that cotton was king, and that economically they were ahead of the North. This error proved costly, ten years later. Immigration to America was extensive. The Irish famine of 1845, due to a failing potato crop, sent over thousands; the European revolutions of

1848 and their prompt suppression sent over thousands more, the German '48-ers prominent among these. The Germans moved to the Middle West, the Irish settled on the Atlantic seaboard or in the larger mid-Western cities. Immigration in 1854 amounted to 427,833, an increase of almost 500 percent over the 1840 figure.

The discovery of gold in California inspired Cornelius Vanderbilt of New York to plan a Panama Canal. He came into conflict with the British, who were seeking to expand British Honduras into a protectorate covering much of the coast, contrary of course to the Monroe Doctrine. Clayton, Secretary of State under Taylor, concluded with the British minister, Sir Henry Lytton Bulwer, the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, providing for a joint American and British guarantee of neutrality of any canal built across the isthmus. Both governments engaged not to fortify the canal, seek colonies in South America, or seek to control the canal exclusively. This remained in force for over half a century.

And now Cuba came into the American story. Pro-slavery expansionists wanted it for the United States; many other Americans feared it would pass from the weak control of Spain to the hands of England or France or some other strong nation, again contrary to the Monroe Doctrine. President Polk offered Spain \$120,000,000 for it; the Spanish court replied that it would prefer to see Cuba sunk into the ocean, than in the hands of another power. In 1851 some fifty young Americans, chiefly from New Orleans, joined in the expedition of an adventurer named Lopez, who planned to seize the island. The group were captured in Cuba and shot at once. A New Orleans mob wrecked the consulate of Spain, causing the Secretary of State, Daniel Webster, to apologize profusely to the government at Madrid. Other incidents increased the tension between the two countries.

Pierce sent Pierre Soulé of Louisiana as minister to

Spain; and Soulé was the most fanatical believer in the annexation of Cuba in the country. Soulé, Mason, minister to Belgium, and Buchanan, minister to England, held a little conference at Ostend in Belgium, in mid-1854, and the three of them issued the famous Ostend Manifesto, announcing that Cuba was essential to the peace of the United States; and that every law, human and divine, justified our taking it by force, if Spain refused to sell it. Marcy, Secretary of State, promptly disowned the pretentious document, and the queer incident was closed.



Gold is Found in the West

PART IV
SLAVERY, SECESSION, AND THE
CIVIL WAR

CHAPTER XIX

TOWARD CONFLICT AND DISUNION

THE KANSAS-NEBRASKA BILL

THE vast region of the Louisiana Territory, purchased from Napoleon in 1803, which lay north of $36^{\circ} 30'$, had no gold or other immediate wealth to attract a rush of settlers; and so it remained comparatively ignored, while attention was focussed on California and Texas. By 1850, only one state, Iowa, had been admitted from it, since Missouri entered in 1821. This was in 1846; indeed, only one other territory, Minnesota, had been organized in it. Yet settlers had been dribbling constantly in, and these saw every reason to eject the annoying Indians, and to emerge into the status of territories and ultimately statehood.

Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois, a son of Vermont who had moved westward into prominence, was chairman of the Senate Committee on Territories. He was an aggressive and shrewd debater and a man of unbounded personal ambition, along with many other self-made successes. He was only thirty-three when he reached the Senate, but his keenness in debate soon gave him a leading position. He became the recognized Democratic leader in the North, and when Calhoun, Clay and Webster died within two years of each other, he was for a time the leading figure in American political life. He was one of the group which included Clay, Blaine, and Bryan, popular idols who barely missed the White House. On January 4, 1854, he reported out of committee a bill to organize the territory beyond Missouri,

called Nebraska, on the basis of squatter sovereignty, as provided for in Clay's mammoth Omnibus Act of 1850.

The Southern Senators were dissatisfied with this proposal, and urged Douglas to take the aggressive and gerrymander the territory so that at least half of it would be sure to be slave. Gerrymandering was named after an astute New England politician who so divided territory that he managed to get the largest possible strength for his party from illogical geographical divisions: a method familiar to today in apportionments for Congress and even for city aldermen. Douglas, eager for united Democratic support, saw the light, and prepared a new bill, the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, which used the line of 40 north latitude to divide Nebraska territory into Kansas to the South and Nebraska to the North. The backers of the plan expected Kansas to be unreservedly slave, and were willing to have the northerly territory go free.

This was a complete annulment of the spirit of the Missouri Compromise, and at once awoke the anger of the free North. The very next day the Free Soilers in Congress, led by Senator Chase of Ohio, issued a spirited appeal to independent Democrats, calling the proposed bill "a gross violation of a sacred pledge," and rallying all good citizens to protest in every way against "this enormous crime." The North shook with mass meetings violently assailing the proposed division. Maine, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Wisconsin, protested by legislative action against the Douglas bill. Senator Seward added his foreboding note:

The storm that is rising is such a one as this country has never yet seen.

A few of the country's growing stock of invectives was hurled at the luckless head of the would-be national Democratic idol; he was called turncoat, traitor, Judas, Benedict Arnold, who had sold himself body and soul to the wicked South for the mess of pottage of a presidential nomination.

The whole North had a riotous time burning him in effigy. He said himself that he could journey from Boston to Chicago, by the light of these disapproving fires.

PASSAGE OF THE KANSAS-NEBRASKA BILL

A keen logician like Douglas was not embarrassed at all when it was established that he was a turncoat. Had he not said in 1849, after voting four years before for the Missouri Compromise line in the matter of the annexing of Texas, that this line was—

canonized in the hearts of the American people as a thing which no ruthless hand would ever be reckless enough to disturb.

Douglas smilingly answered that not he, but the American people, were voluntary turncoats; the 1850 compromise having ended a geographical line as the shore between slavery and freedom, and substituting instead the choice of the people themselves: and that he acceded that the voice of the people was the voice of God.

Douglas's motive in the shift is not wholly clear. He could not win the Democratic nomination without the support of the South; and all his rivals were courting that formidable section—especially the President, who was almost servile in accepting the advice of his belligerent Secretary of War, Jefferson Davis of Mississippi, Secretary of State Marcy, and one of the three heroes of the Ostend Manifesto concerning the ethical taking of Cuba, Buchanan, our minister to the court of St. James, as England was diplomatically called. More than this, Douglas was financially deeply involved in railroad investments designed to open up the Far West, and hence would profit by any settlement of the intermediate sections. No doubt his own self-confidence, due to his rise from humble circumstances to national prominence, made him trust the people as much.

When the debate on the bill took place, Douglas estab-

lished that he had no equal in the Senate, now that the three great giants were gone. Wade, Chase, Seward, Sumner, Everett assailed him, and they were all brilliant debaters; but Douglas met their every point with a better one. And he was persuasive and tactful through it all. On March 4, 1854, at the end of a seventeen hour session, the bill passed the Senate by 37 to 14. Two and a half months later it was squeezed through the House of Representatives, 113 to 100, and promptly received the presidential signature.

This bill repealed the Missouri Compromise. Almost half a million square miles of western land, running clear to Canada, was by this bill opened to the efforts of the Southern slave-holders to colonize and so carry the land as slave states. Douglas spoke for the South in the act; and it officially announced that hereafter no compromise geographical boundary could stay the Southerner's dream of a republic permeated with slave labor, as Calhoun had pictured a successful republic must be. The passage of this bill notified the North that the hour for compromises was past and that the South would never cease its efforts until the Union accepted slavery from border to border.

ABOLITION GROWS POPULAR

The history of all great movements is that they begin with fanatical extremists who revel in popular detestation; and slowly grow in numbers and wisdom, until in the end they are put into effect by practical people, with the visionaries forgotten far in the past. The movement for ending slavery was running this course. Wisdom would have proposed some method which the South might have been persuaded to accept, calling for compensation to it for its enormous property loss, and some gradual transformation of the Negro slaves into contented Negro laborers. But there was no wisdom in frantic Garrison, with his Constitution-burning, and Nat Turner, with his heartless massacre

of Southerners no more guilty than the Queen of England or the wealthy New England merchants for imposing slavery upon the country. And, once their unwisdom had roused the South, its very arrogance repelled the North, and made a wise solution impossible.

The Kansas-Nebraska bill almost made the North abolitionist. Horace Greeley, the brilliant editor of the New York *Tribune*, the most widely read newspaper in the country, said editorially,

Pierce and Douglas have made more abolitionists in three months than Garrison and Phillips could have done in half a century.

The northwest had been opened to slave colonization; furious at this betrayal of their cause, the Northern abolitionists determined on war without quarter on slavery. And Northern sentiment at last supported them increasingly. They knew that resistance to the Omnibus Act of 1850, with its punishing Fugitive Slave Law, exposed them to serious criminal prosecution. In spite of this, the most distinguished Northern citizens began to come out openly in favor of flouting that unfair legislation.

Ten Northern states passed Personal Liberty Acts, prohibiting their state officials from aiding in the seizure of fugitive slaves, prohibiting the use of Northern jails to detain alleged runaway slaves; ordering jury trials for all Negroes sought to be returned to slavery, and in effect annulling the whole Fugitive Slave Act. These were unconstitutional, if the Fugitive Slave Act was constitutional. But the Democrats held the Supreme Court, and no case was carried up to it at first on these Personal Liberty Acts.

In 1854, the runaway Anthony Burns was arrested in Boston. A "mob" sought to rescue him, by crashing down the jail doors: and this mob was composed of leading and wealthy philanthropists, preachers and authors, and other leading citizens. United States marines, guarded by artil-

lery, transported him through the streets down to the wharf, United States cavalry riding ahead and clearing the streets with drawn swords. Fifty thousand men hooted and hissed, booed and groaned, all the way. The windows were draped in mourning, and American flags were displayed bordered with funereal black. Liberty was dead. . . . The government returned Anthony Burns to his Virginia slaveowning master. It cost \$40,000 to return him.

DEATH OF THE WHIG PARTY

The Whig Party, since its formation by Clay and his associates, had always straddled the issue of slavery, and this was no hour for straddling. The Whigs had been trounced in the 1852 election, and yet they had sent a bloc of sixty members to Congress. But the issue of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill split the party irrevocably. Southern Whigs went Southern and voted for the bill. Northern Whigs stayed Northern, and cast a solid vote against it. The pro-slavery Whigs filtered swiftly into the Democratic party and by the end of 1855 there were no more Whigs below the Mason-Dixon line than there were Republicans between Reconstruction and the New Deal. The Northern Whigs clung together longer. But they were a small sectional party, with no hope of impressing themselves on Congress, much less of winning a presidency.

They proposed a union of Democratic opponents in the North into a coalition party: Free Soilers, Know Nothings—a queer anti-foreign party that was similar to a secret society, and did carry several states in 1854 and 1855—and northern Democrats opposed to the extension of squatter sovereignty to Canada. Their suggestion failed. Douglas was ever the astute politician, and he held the Democrats somehow in line. The Free Soilers were intent only on slavery, and refused to be embroiled in the intricate Whig policies toward the tariff, finance, and other less exciting

matters. There was nothing left for the Northern Whigs to do but join a party which had a definite stand on slavery. And that party appeared in 1854.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY EMERGES

On the 6th of July, 1854, a state mass meeting was called to meet, to include all men opposed to the further extension of slavery, at Jackson, Michigan, a little county-seat in a bean-raising neighborhood not then chartered as a city. The crowd that met could not be accommodated in any building, and adjourned to an oak grove on the border of the town. The wildly enthusiastic anti-slavery men declared that slavery was a "moral, social and political evil," and demanded the repeal of Douglas's Kansas-Nebraska Act and the Fugitive Slave Act fathered by Clay in 1850. They agreed to sink all differences of opinion on all other matters until slavery was ended. They called themselves Republicans, named a state ticket, and invited the nation to join them. An earlier meeting at Ripon, Wisconsin, had suggested both the new party and its name.

The Northern states, in their leaderless condition, were quick to accept the suggestion. By 1855 the chairmen of Republican committees in nine states invited the Republicans to assemble in national convention on February 12, 1856, at Pittsburgh, to organize a national party and fix a time and place for a nominating convention. The lines were being drawn for the conflict to last between 1860 and the present.

Stephen A. Douglas, by his mistaken shrewdness in seeking Southern support in the Kansas-Nebraska bill of 1854, precipitated this amalgamation of Northern anti-slavery forces, and woke the country from its apathy on slavery after 1850, to its wild belligerence at the end of 1854. The first direct result was the reduction of the Democratic majority of 84 in the House, to a minority of 75. The second

direct result was the formation of a party which was to hold the Democrats in a helpless minority for more than a score of years, and lead the way into the tangled antagonisms of today.



Horace Greeley, Anti-slavist (1811-1872)

ritory. Bands of armed men flooded across the border at election times—the “border ruffians”, as the abolitionists called them—and saw to it that the voting expressed a local determination in favor of slavery.

In the spring, an election was called for a territorial legislature. The vote was largely pro-slavery. It was widely charged that the “border ruffians” were responsible for this, terrorizing anti-slavery voters and keeping them from voting, and balloting themselves, no matter where their legal residence was. This legislature voted to meet near the Missouri border; and, once here, heavy penalties were laid on aiding fugitive slaves to escape, and even on speaking or writing of slavery as illegal. The first inning was with the slaveowners. Groups of volunteer settlers came up from Alabama, Florida, South Carolina and Georgia, surged into Kansas, to join the Missourians in their fight, under squatter sovereignty, to hold Kansas “for slavery and the South.” The abolitionists promptly charged that these were not real settlers, but merely more border ruffians. The air was thick with every conceivable verbal slander against everybody in the opposition.

The Free Soilers in Kansas, and there were more than 3000 of them by now, refused to recognize the pro-slavery legislature as being legal, or the fair expression of squatter sovereignty. To each side, squatter sovereignty had come to mean anything that would mean victory for that side. There was no impartial body to make sure that the plebiscite was fair to both sides: the national government had sidestepped the issue completely in the Kansas-Nebraska bill, and the extremists of the two sections proceeded to fight it out. And so; ignoring the legislature already elected, their delegates met in a rump convention at Topeka; organized an anti-slavery government; and at once applied for admission as a free state, as California had done six years before.

In early 1856 these two opposing state governments faced each other in Kansas, equally screaming charges of violence and fraud against the other. The Free Soilers gave their own rabid interpretation to squatter sovereignty. Their leader, Robinson, announced,

If slavery in Missouri is impossible with freedom in Kansas, then slavery in Missouri must die that freedom in Kansas may live.

This was, of course, the practical negation of squatter sovereignty; and demanded that one section (their own) exterminate slavery in a nearby state—which carried with it certainly the squatter sovereignty right of the North to exterminate it in the South; and, vice versa, the right of Missouri or the South to force slavery on Kansas or the North.

The pro-slavery men were no milder. They announced that they would win Kansas for slavery, if they had to wade in blood to their knees. The powder was planted, the fuse laid: only a match was needed to set off the explosion. The Free Soilers regarded the pro-slavery Shawnee legislature as bogus; the Free Soil Topeka "legislature" was merely a craftily organized standing protest. It met intermittently, and was twice dispersed by United States troops as an illegal gathering. No law required the Missouri settlers to bring their slaves with them; they had settled, and in their eyes had earlier and better standing than the Free Soilers. May 21, 1856, the pro-slavery Missouri force attacked Free Soil Lawrence, destroyed the public buildings, wrecked abolition printing presses, burned private buildings. Three days later, John Brown, a gaunt Connecticut Puritan who had migrated to Kansas with the Puritan idea that God had called him to smite the enemies of the Lord hip and thigh, led his four sons and a few other men to a pro-slavery settlement beside Pottawatomie Creek, dragged five men from their beds in the dead of night, and massacred

them remorselessly. After this, there was no more peace in "Bleeding Kansas" when pro-slavery men met Free Soilers.

NATIONAL REVERBERATIONS OF THE FIGHT

President Pierce, respecting the spirit of squatter sovereignty, informed Congress in his December, 1855, annual message, that there was disorder in the far state, but not so much as to justify the interposition of the federal executive. A month later, events had moved so rapidly that the President, in a special message, sided squarely with the pro-slavery men in Kansas. There might have been irregularities in the election of the Shawnee legislature, he said; but he recognized it as the legal legislature of the territory, and would protect it with the whole weight of the authority of the nation. There was nothing in this to offend the shrewd Secretary of War in Pierce's cabinet, Jefferson Davis of Mississippi.

On May 20th, the day before the attack on Lawrence, Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts delivered a speech in the Senate on "The Crime against Kansas," the most unsparing attack ever uttered in Congress. He was already known as a stalwart anti-slavery man, who had denounced the Fugitive Slave Law as a violation of the Constitution, an affront to the public conscience, and an offense against divine law. In his present speech he called the Kansas-Nebraska bill in every respect a swindle; and described its authors as the Don Quixote and Sancho Panza of the harlot, Slavery. It spared no pro-slavery leader; and the weight of its venomous invective went against Senator A. P. Butler of South Carolina, who was not present to reply, due to absence from Washington caused by illness.

Two afternoons later, Preston Brooks, a South Carolina Representative related to Butler, entered the Senate chamber and, with a few words of justifiable reproach, struck the older man on the head with a heavy gutta-percha cane.

Sumner, dazed, tried to rise, wrenching his desk from its fastenings in his efforts. Brooks beat him almost to unconsciousness. Toombs, Douglas, and Slidell saw what was happening or were told by Senate pages. Not one of them interfered. A motion to expel Brooks from the House failed to secure the needed two-thirds votes. He resigned at once, and was at once reelected, with only six opposing votes in his entire Congressional district. It took Sumner three years to recuperate: during this time, Massachusetts reelected him, thinking his empty chair was a stronger protest than a substitute. Attacks by force, no matter the provocation, sometimes have a boomerang effect. Much of the searing bitterness of the Reconstruction years came from the life-long hatred Sumner not unnaturally felt toward the South, after this brutal attack.

The fight over Kansas was widening. The first Republican national convention met on June 17th at Philadelphia. Its platform stated that it was the right and duty of Congress to prohibit slavery in the territories. It denounced Pierce's hands-off policy in Kansas, the arrogant Ostend Manifesto regarding Cuba, and called for the prompt admission of Kansas as a free state. Senators Chase and Seward were the moving spirits in the party; but they were passed over, in choosing a standard-bearer, in favor of John C. Fremont of California, the "Pathfinder". Chase had been too prominent a Democrat, Seward too important a Whig, to be regarded as ideal candidates.

Both the presidential candidate and the choice for Vice President, Dayton of New Jersey, came from free states. The South promptly christened the party the Black Republicans, and announced that Fremont's election would end the Union. Governor Wise of Virginia wrote,

The Southern states will not submit to a sectional election of a Free Soiler or Black Republican. . . . If Fremont is elected this Union will not last one year

from November next. . . . The country was never in such danger.

It is hardly necessary to point out that the Constitution did not explicitly indicate secession as the next step to the election of a President unpopular in one section.

THE ELECTION OF 1856

The Democrats did not select Stephen A. Douglas, their outstanding statesman and the author of the Kansas-Nebraska Act. They chose instead James Buchanan of Pennsylvania, a dignified and uninspired gentleman, who had been absent as minister to England during most of the fight over Kansas, and who was best known for his share in the disowned Ostend Manifesto. The Democrats realized that the civil warfare in Kansas was the greatest reproach against Democratic administration, and bent every effort to pacifying the state.

Pierce sent out his third governor in two years, with explicit instructions to employ federal troops to quiet the broiling state. This governor, Geary of Pennsylvania, drove out the Missouri invaders in September, 1856. The Democrats could now point with pride to their saving Kansas from warfare. Buchanan carried every slave state except Maryland; and also Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Indiana, Illinois, and California. His popular vote was practically half a million more than Fremont's—the greatest plurality so far rolled up for a presidential candidate. His electoral majority was 174 to 114; ex-President Millard Fillmore, of New York, running as the candidate of the American party, receiving 8 electoral votes. The new Republican party had carried 11 states and rolled up a popular total of 1,341,264 votes, with their slogan "Free speech, free press, free soil, Fre-mont and victory!" And Whittier, their most outstanding laureate, gave them their battle-cry for the next four years:

*Then sound again the bugles,
Call the muster-roll anew;
If months have well-nigh won the field,
What may not four years do?*

The commercial interests of the country were well satisfied with the selection of Buchanan, known to be a safe and sane man, as opposed to the erratic adventurer Fremont. The country was in another boom time. The national debt had been more than halved in six years. The 1846 Walker tariff, with moderate rates, was bringing in such a surplus to the Treasury that a new tariff bill was passed during the last month of Pierce's tenure of office, bringing the rates down to the lowest level since the war of 1812.

Buchanan's inaugural address stressed the inherent love for the Constitution and the Union which still animated the hearts of the American people, and expressed the hope that the long agitation over slavery was now approaching its end. It was, in a way he did not suspect. Two days after he had uttered these excellent sentiments, an event occurred which reawoke all the bitterest sentiments of the warring sections.

THE DRED SCOTT CASE

Dred Scott was a Negro slave owned by a Missouri slaveowner. His master carried the slave with him on a journey into the Northwest, and brought him back to Missouri. Within a few years, this slave brought suit against the widow of his former owner, demanding his freedom, on the ground that the brief residence in free territory had legally emancipated him.

The Supreme Court of Missouri threw out the suit, deciding that Scott was not a citizen, with a right to institute a suit. By now Dred Scott was owned by a New Yorker living in Missouri named Sandford; and he sued this new

owner in the United States Circuit Court in Missouri, again demanding his freedom. A suit brought by a citizen of one state against a citizen of another state should be brought in a federal court. The suit was instigated by anti-slavery Missouri men, who wished to put the courts on record on the matter.

The federal court came to the same conclusion as the state court. Dred Scott's patrons appealed the case to the Supreme Court of the United States. The Supreme Court of the United States decided that the federal court of Missouri had no jurisdiction in the matter, as the decision of the Supreme Court of Missouri had established Dred Scott's status, as not being a citizen, and hence having no more right to sue than a cow or a barn.

Chief Justice Roger B. Taney of Maryland, Jackson's appointee to succeed John Marshall in 1835, proceeded to point out why this was so. The Negro was not a citizen, he said, in the eyes of the Constitution of the United States. That Constitution, he said, was made for white men only. The blacks, at the time the Constitution was adopted, were considered to be

so far inferior that they had no rights which the white man was bound to respect.

Not being a citizen, the Negro could not sue in a court of the United States. The slave was the property of his owner, and the national government was given no power over the property of the inhabitants of any state. Taney went further, and delivered the *obiter dicta*, or words beyond the point at issue, that the Missouri Compromise of 1820 was illegal, since by it the national government proceeded to forbid slavery north of a certain geographical line.

This was not entirely good law. The North held that slaves were not property, but "persons held to service or labor" by state laws. The word *slave* appears nowhere in the Constitution. It mentions free persons, free persons

bound to service for a term of years, Indians, and "all other persons." A "person" is something different from a cow or a barn. There is no constitutional prohibition against Negroes becoming citizens, or federal officeholders, in states permitting free Negroes to become citizens. The Constitution was not made for white men only; but for the citizens of the several states, who had the right to determine who were their citizens. It may well have been true that the slaves were held to have no rights which the white man must respect, according to the Constitution. The slaves, or "all other persons," were implicitly property, and hence to be protected by the national government. Nor was the national government given power to prohibit slavery anywhere; unless in national territory, a right the national government lost—except by an extreme stretching of logic—when the status of statehood was reached.

The United States Supreme Court, of course, was not given any constitutional right to declare a federal law (such as the Missouri Compromise) unconstitutional; and this right was three times denied to it, by vote of the Constitutional Convention. John Marshall, the loose constructionist Federalist, had taken over this power. And now it was used devastatingly by a member of the opposite political power, the Democrats, to announce an extreme states' rights position, a strict construction of the Constitution which made all national legislation against slavery illegal. It was the ideal boomerang resultant of the earlier grasping of ungranted power.

The South exulted. The most dignified branch of the national government, the Supreme Court of the United States, had at last approved of Calhoun's most extreme pro-slavery doctrine. The South grew vocal. One Richmond paper spoke the common glee:

The nation has achieved a triumph; sectionalism has

been rebuked, and abolitionism has been staggered and stunned.

The Northern press did not quite agree. It inveighed against the sullied judicial ermine, the "judicial robes polluted in the filth of pro-slavery politics." Seward protested vehemently,

The people of the United States never can and never will accept principles so abhorrent.

The decision did one more thing: it left no middle ground for Douglas or any other compromiser to stand on. Either the Republican principle was right, that the nation had the right to exclude slavery from any territory (as in the Missouri Compromise) and to dictate that states must enter free, or be denied admittance; or else the Democratic principle was right, based upon the Dred Scott decision, that the Constitution was made for white men only; the Negro slaves and their descendants and all other Negroes had no rights under it; and the nation must protect the slaveowner's rights in his property, even if, contrary to state law, the slaveowner decided to move with his whole entourage of slaves from a slave state to the most extreme free state.

THE LECOMPTON CONSTITUTION IN KANSAS

A territorial constitutional convention assembled in Le-compton, Kansas, in September, 1857. At first the Free Soilers would not attend, basing their refusal on the alleged frauds in earlier conventions. Governor Walker pledged his good faith that the elections to be held in October would be entirely fair to both sides. The Free Soilers then participated, and returned a majority.

The Lecompton convention was made up of the pro-slavery men. They promptly enacted a constitution guaranteeing the protection of all slavery at the time existing in Kansas, and then submitted to the vote of the people this alternative:

1. The Lecompton Constitution with slavery.
2. The Lecompton Constitution "without" slavery, (except protection of all existing slavery, of course).

A vote either way meant a continuation of slavery in Kansas. If the vote went for the second alternative, this simply meant no further slaveholders could bring their slaves into Kansas.

The Free Soilers denounced the trick vehemently, and demanded a chance to vote for or against the Lecompton Constitution. This was refused to them. They refused to vote. The pro-slavery party carried the Lecompton Constitution *with* slavery, casting 6226 votes in its favor. Two weeks later the Free Soilers let the people of Kansas vote on accepting or rejecting the Constitution as a whole. The Constitution was rejected by more than 10,000 votes, the pro-slavery forces not voting, in general. The Free Soilers on the same day captured all the elective offices.

The Lecompton Constitution was presented to Congress in the December session of the same year. Douglas, trapped whichever position he took, came out against the Constitution as a fraud on the principle of popular or squatter sovereignty. He demanded a fair vote of the people of Kansas on slavery or no slavery. This of course cost him the support of the South, unless by supernal cleverness he could regain it. He went further, and demanded a new convention, and the submission of a new constitution.

Buchanan, swayed by Southern influences, cast in his lot with the Lecompton Constitution. He sent the constitution to Congress, recommending that Kansas be admitted as a slave state. Douglas rebuked the President to his face, to the accompaniment of Southern cries of "traitor," "renegade," and "Judas"—the very terms the North had honored him with, in 1854, at the time of his Kansas-Nebraska bill. The administration proposed the English bill, by which

Kansas was offered some millions of acres of public lands, if she would accept the Lecompton Constitution—this after the Senate had accepted it, and the House rejected it. Kansas voted down this attempted bribe 11,300 to 1,788. After the submission of several more abortive constitutions, Kansas came in as a free state, under the Wyandotte Constitution.

This was the situation, as the crucial election of 1860 approached. It had become clearer that South and North had passed forever beyond the point of compromise. It waited for the voice of a prophet to put in words that the nation could not exist half slave and half free. And that prophet did not delay long in coming.



Slaves Toiling in the Cotton Fields

CHAPTER XXI

THE BUGLES OF WAR

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION AND CULTURE

HISTORY can not be regarded as an orderly chronicle. Night and day, seedtime and harvest, succeed each other with some regularity. But even the growth of a plant or a tree may be interrupted and digressive, as outside forces warp it; and this is successively truer of an animal, a man, or a society of men. The discovery of the Americas we have found to be largely haphazard and at the mercy of wind and tide, as well as dependent upon such fluctuating realities of human relationships as man's hunger for spices to preserve his meats, and men's religious warfares and dreams of world empire. The colonization of North America proceeded quite as haphazardly, on wild grants that gave a group of court favorites half the continent (the 1609 London Company grant), on the 400 mile error of a ship's pilot (the Plymouth settlement), and on similar unpredictable matters. France lost her New World empire, among other reasons, because one of her explorers became friendly with the wrong Indian tribe; England, in a blundering effort to hold them, coupled with France's willingness to retaliate for the French and Indian wars.

If the continent had ended at the westward Alleghenies, and the limits of the United States had been confined to the narrow strip originally occupied by the thirteen colonies with a little more, it is possible that our development might have been rather orderly—though this is not probable. Cer-

tain trade winds and ocean currents of social progress were moving among all the European races at this time: the movement toward democracy, the dictatorial reaction, and most of all the Industrial Revolution, which came with the application of steam power to manufacture and transportation. We were as subject to these as the inhabitants of England or continental Europe. They were inevitable and epoch-making; they played the largest part in man's development throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; and logically we should expect a history of the United States to emphasize them above all other things.

But the development of America proceeded differently. European rivalry, plus our quickness to grasp at an opportunity, doubled our territory in the Louisiana Purchase: and this upset the orderly development of the country, created a new pioneer frontier, and furnished a battleground for the revival of a progressive movement which had quietly conquered the rest of the European world: the ending of human slavery. Our most dominant early section, the South, had about determined voluntarily to emancipate its slaves, when Eli Whitney's invention of the cotton gin saddled the institution on us, until a war ended it bloodily. Sectional rivalry emerged in fights of the farming South and the pioneer farming West against a national bank, and most against a tariff which enriched the manufacturing East at the expense of the rest of the country. It reached full growth in the belated fight over the abolition of human slavery. This in turn made certain Americans seek to flout the law of nations in taking over Cuba, and was instrumental in our acquiring Florida and the great empire wrested from Mexico.

But all the time the Industrial Revolution was proceeding under the surface. The North became like a modern country, with its landless laboring class, including the unemployed and the unemployable. The South remained a land

where labor was the function of human slaves, and a white man's hands were soiled if he carried his own gripsack half a block. It took a Civil War to reconcile viewpoints so adverse. The South demanded a republic permeated with slavery throughout. The North, the vocal wealthier classes and the huge sullen mass of labor beneath, more and more were unwilling to see the arrogant slaveowners, who felt superior to any work, living on the fat of their land, and scornful of the Northern white man's manly acceptance of decent toil. The South postponed the Industrial Revolution and the Machine Age, in great part, as long as possible. The South paid a bloody price for this, before the reckoning was over.

But the fact of the Industrial Revolution could not be delayed, in any section. Railroads, steamboats, factories and mills, cotton gins and slowly improved agricultural implements, these continued to throb under the surface, and improve the potential lot in life of all men, no matter how the surface bickerings rotated about such matters as written laws, torchlight parades and elections, and bloody fights over extending or limiting slavery. The country was too busy, with both the young Industrial Revolution and its own unique problems taking so much of its attention, to develop a leisure class devoted to the arts, as yet. But art can never be pushed entirely out of man's life, and in both written and graphic form it continued to develop, reflecting both the illusion of the Golden Past and the turbulent present which men could hardly forget for a day and a night. Let us see how this tremendous transition period between the Revolution and the Civil War reflected itself in our literature.

GROWTH OF A NATIONAL LITERATURE

America half aristocratic and half democratic—almost pioneer, or fully so. . . . And the leading poets and writers squabbling like the statesmen. John Keese, in his 1839

The Poets of America, surveyed the outlook thus:

American poetry has hitherto been little more than a happy accident, and seems to have arisen in spite of the practical tendencies of our country and the prosaic character of our time.

There is no doubt but that every age has felt so: the golden age of Sappho and the Greek lyric poets, the Periclean age of the great dramatists, the Augustan age of Rome, the world-girdling age of Elizabeth with Shakespeare as a mere popular entertainer, the Romantic revival in England, the Victorian age with Tennyson and the rest. . . . We complain today that the present Machine Age is no age for poetry. There never was an age for poetry. It has survived and outclimbed the highest structure man has built, against "practical tendencies . . . and prosaic character of our time" in every instance.

Poe was surely an Elysian voice, writing unforgettable beauty in his musical laments. When he mentioned his rivals, it was with the gentle sweetness of a Jackson lambasting the bank, an enraged Southerner denouncing the Douglas of 1857, an abolitionist commenting on Webster after the 1850 speech. He hurled himself on Thomas Dunn English, born Brown, who wrote *Ben Bolt*, in this sweet spirit:

Mr. Brown has at least that amount of talent which would enable him to succeed in his father's profession—that of a ferryman on the Schuylkill.

Brown wrote "I am just." Poe discovered that "—an ass" had been omitted by typographical error. Poe wrote of William Ellery Channing's verses,

They are full of all kinds of mistakes, of which the most important is that of their having been printed at all.

He called *The North American Review* "that ineffable buzzard."

Others were not so mild. The manners of the frontier

were rather genteel, compared to the literary manners.

Whittier has a Yankee girl reject a Southerner's proposal:

*Go back, haughty Southron! thy treasures of gold
Are dim with the bloods of the hearts thou hast sold;
Thy home may be lovely, but round it I hear
The crack of the whip and the footsteps of fear. . . .*

*Full low at thy bidding thy Negroes may kneel,
With the iron of bondage on spirit and heel;
Yet know that the Yankee girl sooner would be
In fetters with them, than in freedom with thee!*

In direct enthusiastic approval of the Industrial Revolution, Oliver Wendell Holmes lyricized the steamboat:

*With clashing wheel, and lifting keel,
And smoking torch on high,
When winds are loud, and billows reel,
She thunders foaming by.*

John Godfrey Saxe, a Vermont lawyer, lauded the railroad even more rhapsodically. A queer wandering typographer from New York State, not so successful with rhymed verse, and torn between a desire to be an orator like Webster and Calhoun and Clay and Douglas and so many more, and the ambition to write like the authors of the King James version of the Old Testament—his name was Walt Whitman—pictured the democratic spirit of the pioneer West in rhythms that failed to stir them, although they set on fire later generations of writers:

See, mechanics at their benches with tools—see from
among them superior judges, philosophers, Presidents,
emerge, drest in working dress.

Where no one listened to this farsighted prophesying, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow caught the full swing of the

Unionist sentiment:

*Thou, too, sail on, O Ship of State!
Sail on, O Union, strong and great!
Humanity with all its fears,
With all its hopes of future years,
Is hanging breathless on thy fate!*

Yet, with the softness of a leisure class poet, he was not so insistent on actual carnage. In *The Arsenal at Springfield*, he wrote:

*Were half the power, that fills the world with terror,
Were half the wealth, bestowed on camps and courts,
Given to redeem the human mind from error,
There were no need of arsenals and forts:*

*The warrior's name would be a name abhorred;
And every nation, that should lift again
Its hand against a brother, on its forehead
Would wear forevermore the curse of Cain!*

James Russell Lowell, a cultured American who later was minister to Spain, spoke more forthrightly, in splendid Yankee dialect:

*Ez fer war, I call it murder,—
There you hev it plain an' flat;
I don't want to go no furdur
Than my Testyment fer that;
God hez sed so plump an' fairly,
It's ez long ez it is broad,
An' you've gut to git up airly
Ef you want to take in God. . . .
Ef you take a sword an' dror it,
An' go stick a feller thru,
Guv'ment ain't to answer for it,*

God'll send the bill to you.

And then the North's mood altered into a plea for a law higher than the laws men had written, especially in 1789, 1820, 1850, and 1854: and in magnificent eloquence he phrased the word that Seward and the rest were uttering:

*New times demand new measures and new men;
The world advances, and in time outgrows
The laws that in our fathers' days were best;
The time is ripe, and rotten ripe, for change;
Then let it come; I have no dread of what
Is called for by the instinct of mankind,
Nor think I that God's work would fall apart
Because we tear a parchment more or less.*

In 1852, Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin, or, Life Among the Lowly* appeared. Born in Litchfield, Connecticut, and raised in New Haven, she had married a professor in a theological seminary, and spent at least eighteen years in Cincinnati, under conditions which constantly thrust slavery under her attention. Across the Ohio was a slave-holding community. Slaves were constantly escaping from their masters, and these were protected and guided northward by the group in which Mrs. Stowe lived. When her husband, in 1850, removed to Maine, Mrs. Stowe wrote her novel, which was to her a religious message she must deliver. The book sprang into unexampled popularity, and was translated shortly afterwards into twenty-three tongues. It played a prominent part in arousing the emotions of the North against the institution of slavery, for all that its harsh picture was by no means typical of the average slaveowner. President Lincoln, greeting her in the White House later, welcomed her as "the woman who brought on the Civil War."

THE IMPENDING CRISIS

In 1857 Hinton Rowan Helper published *The Impending Crisis of the South: How to Meet It*. Helper was the son of North Carolina slaveowners, a belated '49-er to California (1851-1854). His book received an 8-column review in the New York Weekly *Tribune*—the record for length in book reviews up to that time. It deserved it. It was written against slavery, and in the interests of the white race. If the South had been open to argument, this book would have prevented the Civil War.

It is impossible here to more than summarize its methodical proof that slavery had wrecked the South economically. Virginia, in 1790, with twice the population of New York, and practically the same exports and imports; Virginia 60 years later, with less than half the population, one-fortieth the exports, one-four-hundredth the imports. . . . And the same true of the whole South as opposed to the whole Northeast, state by state—the south leading in 1790, utterly trailing in 1857. . . . Even in agriculture New York's farm lands and equipment worth twice Virginia's, in 1850! The North, outside of all its manufacturing, transportation and finance, was wealthier agriculturally than the South. The hay crop alone of the North—watch this figure!—was more valuable than the combined hay, cotton, tobacco, rice, hemp, and cane sugar crop of the whole South! On a typical crop, corn, the North raised an average of 31 bushels to the acre; the richer, more fertile South, 14 bushels to the acre. The cause of all this was the economic curse of slavery, which had been and was increasingly withering the South from economic independence into economic servitude.

The strongest voices in favor of emancipation, Helper points out, had been Southern—quoting their own words to link among abolitionists George Washington, Thomas Jef-

ferson, James Madison, James Monroe, Patrick Henry, John Randolph of Roanoke, Henry Clay, William Pinckney, Thomas Marshall—countless more Southerners, followed by the testimony of Northerners, leaders of thought throughout the world, churches. He points out, as opposed to all this, the amazing plurality of slave state Presidents, Supreme Court justices, Secretaries of State, cabinet members, foreign ministers. He establishes that the South is comparatively illiterate; and that the institution of slavery has not granted leisure to produce lasting culture, in the shape of writers and artists, but that the free North leads four to one in all these. The only remedy, he insists, is non-compensated and immediate emancipation.

This book was made a campaign document in the North in the 1860 presidential election. In Southern states, a man was ostracized for admitting that he had read a copy of it. In 1861 Helper was appointed United States Consul to Buenos Aires by President Lincoln, and resigned after more than five years, when his applications to be relieved were turned down. In the same 1867 he established how anti-Negro he was, by publishing *Nojoque*, whose motive was, in Helper's words,

to write the Negro out of America and to write him out of existence.

His *The Negroes in Negroland*, appearing the following year, was even more decidedly anti-Negro, urging that the black race was inferior to the white, in color, physique, mind, and morals.

Here was a Southern word, establishing that the institution of slavery had ruined the South economically. It established its point beyond cavil. His effort was quite anti-Negro, and was intended to rehabilitate Southern prosperity. The South did not listen to it. When the war bugles blow, the still small voice is never heard.

CHAPTER XXII

THE ELECTION OF 1860

DOUGLAS DEBATES WITH ABRAHAM LINCOLN

IN THE summer of 1858, Senator Stephen A. Douglas, with twelve years service behind him in the United States Senate, returned to Illinois to campaign for his own reelection. He was completely at outs with the Democratic administration of Buchanan, especially for his attitude on the Lecompton "Fraud," as he called it. His fortune had been swept away by the minor financial panic of 1857, and reelection was a necessity to him. He had no opposition, except a lanky farmer's son he had known and looked down on for twenty years, a Kentuckian who had migrated to Illinois the year he reached his majority, and who was named Abraham Lincoln. Lincoln had been a captain in an unimportant Indian war, with an unimpressive war record: in disgrace because he shot off a pistol too near camp, and because his company had almost to a man become intoxicated. He had been a local postmaster, a deputy county surveyor, a state representative for four terms, the only Whig member of Congress in the term beginning 1846. He had jeered at the Mexican War by his "Spot" Resolution, asking the President to tell the precise "spot" where Mexicans had fired on Americans. He had introduced a bill for compensated emancipation in the District of Columbia, and had favored the Wilmot Proviso. He was a powerful lawyer and a magnificent raconteur. He had almost become the vice-presidential candidate of the experimental Republican

party in 1856, receiving 110 votes in the convention. Douglas, intermittently the country's idol since 1846 as the leading Democrat in the United States, did not at first take the opposition of this lanky homespun native son seriously. And yet, Lincoln's acceptance of the nomination for Senator on the Republican ticket in Illinois in 1858 commenced:

A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this Government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved—I do not expect the house to fall—but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction; or its advocates will push it forward, till it shall become alike lawful in all the states, old as well as new—North as well as South.

Calhoun had said, in 1834,

There cannot be a durable republic without slavery. Here was a man who saw more clearly that there was not one inevitable end, a United States pledged to slavery until it expired as a nation; but at least two possible ends, a slave nation or a free nation. Douglas did not sense, nor did the voters of Illinois at first, that in Abraham Lincoln there had arisen the simplest and humblest and most eloquent American we have yet known, who spoke with the tongues of men and of angels, and whose lightest whisper would be cherished by future ages where the loudest eloquences of lesser souls had been forgotten.

Lincoln had not, at first, been a success in politics. He had about determined to retire into the practice of law for life, when the repeal of the Missouri Compromise by the Kansas-Nebraska Act awoke him toward the high role he was destined to fill, as the emancipator of the Negro and the final cementer of the Union. He warned Douglas, as

far back as that fateful 1854, that squatter sovereignty in Kansas was bound to bring bloodshed between Yankees and Missourians. When the Republican party was established in Illinois, he joined it at once, and soon grew to be its leading spirit.

The lanky homespun native son challenged the volcanic little Democratic ex-idol to a series of debates, proposing that they debate the respective merits of the Democratic doctrine of popular sovereignty in the territories, as opposed to the Republican demand for Congressional control over slavery. Douglas had routed Seward, Chase, Sumner, Everett, the greatest orators the country boasted: should the tiny Goliath shrink before the verbal pebbles of the lanky young David? He accepted the challenge, and seven debates followed, in seven leading sections of the state. The immediate objective was the control of the election of the state legislature, whose function it was to elect the new Senator. But the nation began slowly to sense that this fight against Douglas was a fight against all he stood for; the evasion of the claim that Congress had the right to exclude slavery from territories of the United States, and the substitution for it of squatter sovereignty, which had failed so bloodily in Kansas.

THE FREEPORT DOCTRINE AND THE SENATORIAL ELECTION

The decision of Judge Taney and the Democratic Supreme Court, in the Dred Scott case, was that the Constitution forbade the national government from excluding slavery in any territory. The Douglas Kansas-Nebraska bill, embodying squatter sovereignty, granted to the territories the right to exclude slavery. Douglas, in his debates, stood firmly behind both of these principles. Lincoln saw the lack of logic in this, and sliced right to the heart of the question with his demand to Douglas: how can a territory,

a creation of Congress, have the constitutional right to exclude slavery, when Congress, its creator, has no such right? How can Congress grant to a territory a right it does not itself possess? Can the creature have more power than its creator? Can water rise above its source?

Douglas had to answer: and his answer was that anti-slavery legislation by the people of the territory would make the territory free, in spite of the Dred Scott decision.

The people have the lawful means to introduce it or exclude it, as they please, for the reason that slavery cannot exist a day or an hour anywhere unless it is supported by local police regulations.

This constituted the "Freeport Doctrine," which cost Douglas so much later. Lincoln summed it up by saying,

Then a thing may be legally driven away from a place where it has a legal right to be.

In this, Lincoln was wrong, and Douglas right. Where no law prohibits lotteries and race-track gambling, for instance, they are legal; but it may at any time be legally driven away from the place, by proper legislation outlawing it. Douglas was unable to convince the country of this, however.

Douglas was elected Senator by a majority of eight, in the state legislature. But the Freeport Doctrine cost him the presidency, two years later. The Southern extremists, emboldened by the Dred Scott decision, had determined that Congress must protect slavery throughout the entire country, state and territory, no matter what adverse legislation was passed against it; that Congressional protection of slavery must everywhere supersede local police regulations. Douglas and Jefferson Davis of Mississippi represented the two extreme positions. Douglas tried to make Jefferson Davis admit that Congress should no more interfere to protect slave property in the territories, than any other property. But Davis retorted that he did favor Con-

gress doing precisely that, since slaves were the only property the North was trying to take from Southerners in the territories. Douglas protested that Davis could not carry a single state north of the Ohio River on such a platform. Ah, Davis retorted, but Douglas could not carry Mississippi on his platform. The Democratic party was split, by the Freeport Doctrine, into two hostile wings. Every effort of Douglas to unite the warring camps had failed. Every victory won by the slaveowners made them demand more. The North—and more and more Lincoln spoke for it—would never permit the Union to be all slave. Was it ready to insist that it be all free?

THE SITUATION IN 1860

The number of slaves in the Southern states had more than doubled, in the four decades since the Missouri Compromise. The price of Negro slaves in the United States had almost tripled. A first rate field hand sold as high as \$1,500 in Virginia. A slave of the same type brought only \$600 in Cuba, and \$100 in Africa. The demand for slaves in the cotton-raising sections could never be supplied, due to increased English and New England demand for cotton. The Alabama and Mississippi cotton-planters saw no reason in paying out \$1,500 for what they could get elsewhere so much cheaper. The slave trade had been prohibited since 1807. In May, 1859, delegates from the cotton states met at Vicksburg, and promulgated that—

All laws, state or federal, prohibiting the African slave trade ought to be repealed.

They did not stop with passing resolutions. The captain and the owner of the yacht *Wanderer* were indicted in 1859 for bringing a cargo of 300 slaves from Africa to Brunswick, Georgia, that year, and selling them illegally. No Southern jury would convict them, and they were released. Douglas gave it as his considered opinion that at least 15,000 slaves

had been smuggled in in the decade commencing in 1850. There was no limit to what the South wanted.

John Brown, leader of the anti-slavery massacre at Pottawatomie Creek in Kansas, was fully convinced that God had called him to free the slaves in the South itself. At Chatham, Canada, in 1858-1859, with 11 white and 35 Negro associates, he adopted a "Provisional Constitution and Ordinance for the People of the United States." He had himself elected commander-in-chief, and had a Secretary of State, a Secretary of War, a Secretary of the Treasury and members of Congress selected from among his followers. His plan was to post armed guerillas in the recesses of the wild Appalachians, who should erupt into the plains, seize Negroes, and carry them back to his Camps of Freedom. His first step was to capture the United States Arsenal at Harpers Ferry, Virginia, with a force of 18 men, and capture and hold 60 of the leading citizens as hostages. On October 18, two days later, Colonel Robert E. Lee and a small force of marines killed ten of the raiders, captured seven, and Brown was wounded severely after he surrendered. Nine days later Brown was tried for treason. His defense was that he was acting at God's command. He was found guilty of "treason, and conspiring and advising with slaves and other rebels, and murder in the first degree" and was hanged at Charlestown, Virginia (now West Virginia) four days later.

The frantic state of public opinion made leading Northerners exalt the dead man to the skies: Ralph Waldo Emerson comparing the hanging of John Brown to the crucifixion of Christ. The North sang wildly—

*John Brown's body lies a-mouldering in the grave,
But his soul goes marching on.*

The South read in this approval a determination on the part of "Black Republicans" to turn loose upon the women

and children of the South the horrors of Negro massacre. Violence begets violence, and both sections began to prepare for it.

Jefferson Davis, early in February of the next year, presented in the Senate a series of resolutions embodying the immediate demands of the Southern states. Squatter sovereignty was repudiated. It was the duty of Congress to protect slavery in every part of the territory of the Union. Personal Liberty Laws must be repealed in all the Northern states which had adopted them. The Fugitive Slave Act must be applied with full force. The Dred Scott decision must be recognized as the law of the land. The purpose of the introduction of these resolutions was less with the expectation of having them passed, than to use them as a Democratic platform in the ensuing election.

At the end of the same month, Eastern Republicans invited Abraham Lincoln, the defeated Senatorial candidate from Illinois, to speak in Cooper Union, New York City, and permit the East to become familiar with this new Western leader. When he stood silent for an impressive moment before commencing his great speech, the critical audience were conscious only of the harsh seamed face, lined by suffering; the ill-fitting clothes. His voice, when it came, was thin and high, the gestures ungainly. But all these were nothing, as his speech took form. Wisdom, knowledge, keen logic, all these permeated the address. He argued that the very founders of the government had held that Congress had the right to restrict slavery; that the South had voted at times for Congressional control of slavery in territories; that the Republicans had no connection with John Brown's raid at Harpers Ferry; that Southern threats to secede if a Republican were elected were the arguments of a highway robber. His speech was a full answer to the Davis resolutions. It made the Westerner one of the leading candidates for the Republican nomination, in one night.

THE STRUGGLE OF 1860

The Democrats met in Charleston, South Carolina, on the 23rd of April, 1860. The Douglas delegates, representing of course many Northern states which showed small chance of going Democratic, contested bitterly against the advocates of the Davis resolutions, chiefly from strictly Democratic Southern states. The Douglas moderates won the fight on the platform by a majority of about thirty votes. William Lowndes Yancey, of a South Carolina family, born in Georgia, living in Alabama, who had resigned from Congress in 1846 to devote himself to the cause of resisting anti-slavery aggression, was the leading anti-Douglas man in the convention. He had bolted the Baltimore convention of 1848 for its mildness, and had advocated secession as early as 1850, and the resumption of the African slave trade. At the Douglas victory, Yancey rose, followed this time not by one colleague only, as in 1848, but by the delegations of Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, South Carolina, Florida, Texas, and two of the three delegates from Delaware. Georgia and the majority of the Arkansas delegates withdrew the following day.

The Democratic convention, such as was left of it, re-assembled in Baltimore. Again it split. The moderates nominated Douglas; the extremists, John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky. Rather than work for the election of Douglas, whom the extremists regarded as a traitor through his continued insistence on squatter sovereignty and the Freeport Doctrine, the extremists preferred to run the risk of a Republican victory, through their division. Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia, one of the most brilliant of the Southern statesmen, prophesied that a bloody civil war would take place within a year after the aborted Charleston convention. There were many who saw no other possible result.

On May 16th, the Republican party met at Chicago, for its second presidential nominating convention. Ten thousand people packed the huge structure called the Wigwam, while many more waited outside, praying that "Honest Abe" Lincoln, the idol of the West, would be chosen. The platform asserted the right and duty of Congress to prevent any further spread of slavery in the territories; denounced Buchanan for winking at the Lecompton "fraud," demanded the admission of Kansas as a free state, and attacked the Dred Scott decision. Senator Seward was the leading candidate, when the convention opened. Chase of Ohio, Bates of Missouri, Cameron of Pennsylvania, Smith of Indiana, were also in the running: as was Abraham Lincoln, the rail-splitter of Illinois. Seward was ahead, when the first ballot was tabulated. But he could never control the votes necessary for a nomination, through a fear he was too extreme in his relationship with the abolitionists, and a distrust of his connection with the New York political machine. Delegation after delegation tumbled aboard the Lincoln bandwagon. On the third ballot, his nomination was assured, and men went wild with a sort of Crusading ecstasy. Seward congratulated Lincoln, and wrote to his wife,

I am a leader deposed by my own party in the hour of organization for decisive battle.

Lincoln later made him Secretary of State, and gently rebuked his offer to show Lincoln the proper way to run the government. The other rival candidates for the nomination were all put in the first Lincoln cabinet.

The old Whigs and Union men in the South generally, and especially in the border states, put up a fourth candidate, John Bell, a Whig who had resigned from the Tyler cabinet after the death of Harrison. Edward Everett of Massachusetts was their candidate for Vice President. They adopted no platform beyond a mere statement of adherence to the Constitution, Union, and law enforcement.

Lincoln received 180 electoral and 1,866,352 popular votes, carrying every Northern state except New Jersey. Douglas ran second in the popular vote, with 1,375,157; but he won only the 12 electoral votes of New Jersey and Missouri. Breckinridge rolled up 72 electoral and 845,763 popular votes, carrying all the Southern states except the border ones of Virginia, Kentucky and Tennessee. Bell made a poor fourth, with 39 electoral votes from the three border states mentioned, and 589,581 popular ones. Altogether about 40 percent of the voters registered their choice for Lincoln; but the divided Democratic strength made him the easy winner in the electoral college. In the combined slave states, the two moderates, Bell and Douglas, polled 115,000 more votes than the extremist, Breckinridge; indicating that the South, before learning of the election of a Republican, was by no means unitedly in favor of secession.

SOUTH CAROLINA SECEDES

In 1860, South Carolina was the only remaining state whose presidential electors were chosen by vote of the state legislature, rather than by the vote of the people. The legislature was in session, to select the state's electors, when it received news that Abraham Lincoln was the successful candidate. Four days later, the legislature passed an act calling for the assembling of a secession convention, to be held December 17th, in Charleston. By a unanimous vote of the 169 members of this convention, three days later it enacted its Ordinance of Secession, declaring that the May, 23, 1788 act of a South Carolina convention, whereby the Constitution of the United States was ratified, . . . (is) hereby repealed, and the union now subsisting between South Carolina and the other states under the name of the United States of America, is hereby dissolved.

On that same evening, in a jubilant ceremony in Institute

Hall, out of which Yancey had led the Southern delegates eight months before, the delegates signed the historic document, in the presence of the governor and the state officials, as well as the beaux and belles of the gay Southern city.

The South Carolina convention published at the same time a list of their grievances, as the 1776 signers of the Declaration of Independence had done. The grievances listed all refer to acts of Northern aggression against the institution of slavery, for this was uppermost in men's minds. In 1832, it had been the tariff which had brought the state to the brink of secession; and there were those who sought to insist that the tariff was still the state's dominant grievance. Later Southern advocates sought to base the secessions upon the abstract question of states' rights. The shoe pinched on one subject only, in a major way: and that was northern determination to exclude slavery from the West, and to a far less extent to limit the institution in the South. The Southern states showed no violent antipathy to federal action in their favor; they took themselves out of the Union only when the federal action seemed aimed to assail or end the economic institution on which their whole social structure was built, slavery.

The people of South Carolina went frantic with delight, now that the long threatened step had become a reality. The palmetto flag of the state snapped arrogantly in every breeze on every hand, the boom of artillery resounded, blue bunting fluttered from the houses, the church bells pealed out independence once more. The first step toward the formation of a slave confederacy in North America had been taken.

THE CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA

Within a month and a half after the decisive action of the Palmetto State, the six other leading cotton states had followed her example. Mississippi, Florida, Alabama,

Louisiana, Georgia, the vast western empire of Texas, one by one cut the ties that bound them to the United States, and for a brief time were a jubilant galaxy of tiny independent republics reaching from the Atlantic to the high foothills of the Rockies.

On February 4, 1861, delegates from six of these states met in convention at Montgomery, the fourth capital of Alabama, and there organized the Confederate States of America. A constitution was adopted, explicitly opening "We, the deputies of the Sovereign and Independent States" for the more nationalistic opening of the Constitution, "We, the people of the United States." No room was left for secession from this new Confederacy: it was declared expressly to be permanent. Protective tariffs were forbidden, as was the expenditure of the government's money for internal improvements. The African slave trade was forbidden, perhaps to court the favor of the rest of the civilized world; but the institution of slavery was recognized, and its protection guaranteed in any new territory the Confederacy might acquire. There was to be one term of six years only for a President; he had the right to veto bills by separate items; and members of his cabinet were given standing on the floor of the Confederate Congress.

A Confederate flag, the "stars and bars," was chosen, and Jefferson Davis of Mississippi, far more moderate than Yancey, was chosen first President, with able Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia as his Vice President. Davis had been born in Kentucky, not many miles from the birthplace of Abraham Lincoln. There was such a marked facial resemblance between the two Presidents of the rival countries, that the first issue of Confederate stamps, bearing Davis's profile, were later replaced, as resembling too much the familiar portraits of Lincoln. Educated for the army at West Point, he had resigned on marrying the daughter of Zachary Taylor, later a President of the United States,

and entered politics, ultimately being Calhoun's successor in Congress as spokesman of the South. He fought with distinction in the Mexican War, made an excellent Secretary of War under President Pierce. When his adopted state, Mississippi, seceded, he was again serving as its Senator; and his moving speech of farewell to his colleagues in Washington is only one of the many great speeches made by the legislators of South and North on this occasion, all marked by a profound realization of the tragic seriousness of the separation. He had been commissioned major-general of the Mississippi forces being gathered for the oncoming conflict, when he was unanimously selected for President of the Confederacy.

For all of his purity of conduct and integrity of character, he did not develop into a successful executive. His military training made him seek to direct the campaigns from his office; his firmness at times amounted to obstinacy, he let private likes and dislikes enter into his relationship with subordinates and military commanders; he was charged with being tactless, domineering and autocratic, and at times was severely hampered by other leading Confederates. Few historians regard him as one of the strong assets of the Confederacy.

To secure the needful revenue, an export tax of one-eighth of a cent a pound on cotton was levied at once, since the South was primarily an exporting section. President Davis was authorized to raise an army of 100,000 men; and here his abilities as director of military affairs made him invaluable. He was also empowered to negotiate a loan of \$15,000,000, to meet current expenses. A committee of three, with Yancey as its chairman, was sent overseas to woo the friendship and alliance of the nations of Europe. The leaders of the Confederacy looked forward, even at this time, to the necessity of a long and bloody war, before its independence could be established.

The election of Lincoln, in an election entirely without fraud, could at worst be fairly regarded as a menace to Southern rights, and without more certainly did not justify secession. Lincoln had repeatedly assured the South that he had no intention of disturbing slavery in the South, and he had even stated that he favored the operation of the Fugitive Slave Law. As a private citizen, he asked the Southern Senators to advise their constituents to wait until some act which they regarded as a violation of their actual rights was done by the new administration, before taking the definitive action of seceding. The Republicans were in the minority in both houses of Congress, and it was impossible that a Republican executive could have "invaded the rights of the South." It was not the election of Lincoln that caused secession; this was merely the match that touched off the fuse, which had been slowly laid from the time of the passion of Garrison and Nat Turner's insurrection, down to Pottawatomie and Harpers Ferry.

LAST EFFORTS AT COMPROMISE

President Buchanan had been under Southern influences during much of his term as President, and he was the last man in the world to assume the aggressive against the seceding states at this time. His final presidential message to Congress, in December 1860, was summed up wittily but fairly by Seward, when he stated it said—

It is the duty of the President to execute the laws—
unless somebody opposes him; and that no state has a
right to go out of the Union—unless it wants to.

He said that no state had a right to leave the Union; but he added that the United States had no legal way of insisting that a state stay within the Union.

Fort Moultrie, in hostile Charleston harbor, had a garrison of only 64 men, and not enough food and munitions. The Attorney General of the United States notified

Buchanan, in an able paper, that it was his duty and legal right to send these. But three of the cabinet were secessionists at heart, and Southern advisers thronged the President's study. General Winfield Scott, commander of the army, urged food, munitions and reinforcements for Fort Moultrie. Buchanan ignored all these, doing nothing, while the South seceded and armed. The secessionists lost all respect for him, boasting that they had "tied the hands of the imbecile." South Carolina sent a mission to Washington, demanding that the state be recognized as independent and sovereign. But for three unyielding Unionists in the cabinet, Buchanan would probably have done as South Carolina asked.

Old Senator Crittenden of Kentucky, who had taken Clay's seat and adopted his compromising policies, on December 18th proposed a series of "unamendable amendments" to the Constitution,

1. Restoring the Missouri Compromise line as the dividing line between slave and free states.
2. Pledging the government to reimburse slaveowners for runaway slaves lost through Northern Personal Liberty Acts.
3. Forbidding Congress ever to interfere with the domestic slave trade.
4. Forbidding Congress to interfere ever with slavery, in states where it was legal.

A committee of the thirteen leading Senators, representing all shades of opinion, was named to consider these amendments. Seward, Douglas, Davis and the rest studied them, while a House committee of 33 members considered methods of compromise without bloodshed.

Compromise was impossible, without breach of the 1860 political platforms. The Republicans would not consider any line to separate slaves from freemen in the territories: they were pledged to no further expansion of slavery in any

territory. President-elect Lincoln wrote to the Illinois member of the House committee, "Entertain no proposition for the extension of slavery." The South was demanding everything; South Carolina's secession convention was in session; why should it yield anything, itching for a fight as it was, after the overlong disputations? James Russell Lowell, applying Hinton Rowan Helper's logical method, wrote in the January 1861 *Atlantic Monthly*,

The crime of the North is the census of 1860. The South, not through Northern aggression but through its own chosen blight of continuing slavery, was falling further and further behind in the fight for national greatness. Rather than see the reins of power fall from its slackening hands, it preferred to organize its own rival government, where it would have no stronger internal rival; and was willing to fight it out, to establish the right to form this government.

The right of secession, since it had not been prohibited in the Constitution, was among the rights reserved to the states by that document, almost three-quarters of a century old, and designed for a far simpler society and one infinitely more scattered and unintegrated than that of 1860. States North and South had claimed it, in words, for decades. Secession was not revolt or rebellion: it was merely withdrawal, implied in the act of voluntary alliance to form the United States. All talk of a "revolution" of the Southern states in 1860 is beside the point: their action was a mere withdrawal from a voluntary compact or contract, and was not forbidden even implicitly in the Constitution. The South insisted, in 1860 and 1861, that it was imitating the liberty-loving forefathers of 1776 in its action: and, in this, it underestimated its legal right under the Constitution, and gave a belligerent interpretation to its actions not called for.

The North held that the Union—the fact of nationality

—was essential. The Constitution did not so provide. It certainly made no provision for conquest and subjection of one state or one section by another. And yet, in spite of the bitter conflict over slavery, nationality had become a fact. It is all right to talk about the sacredness of a “scrap of paper”: but it always remains that the fact is greater than the fumbling written word; and that, to put it mildly, the South’s effort to establish a second independent power within parts of the United States would have weakened the whole fabric and each section of it; exposed both sections to mutual jealousies and warfares; made both weaker before foreign attack; and would have seriously crippled any hope of major national greatness for the United States. Decentralization, now that man’s scientific age is knitting the world into an ever closer brotherhood, is a step backward, unless it be a mere meaningless formality. The brotherhood of man may be split for effective administration into administrative units; but it cannot be a half brotherhood opposed to another half brotherhood, or a brotherhood infinitely more divided and bickering. The same thing applied to the great nation, the United States, in 1860–1861. It took a war to establish this.

Many of the Southern leaders stayed on in Washington, long after they had become reconciled to the idea of secession. This was not unnatural or treasonable. They still represented their states, if they were in Congress; they had personal duties toward the government, if they were in administrative functions. If it was not unconstitutional for their states to secede—and the argument for this viewpoint is strong—it was certainly proper for them to stay until they were asked to depart. The senators from six cotton states convened in a Senate committee room on January 5, 1861, and advised their states to secede immediately. Until secession was a fact, the South owned the national capital as much as the North, and this was merely advising the

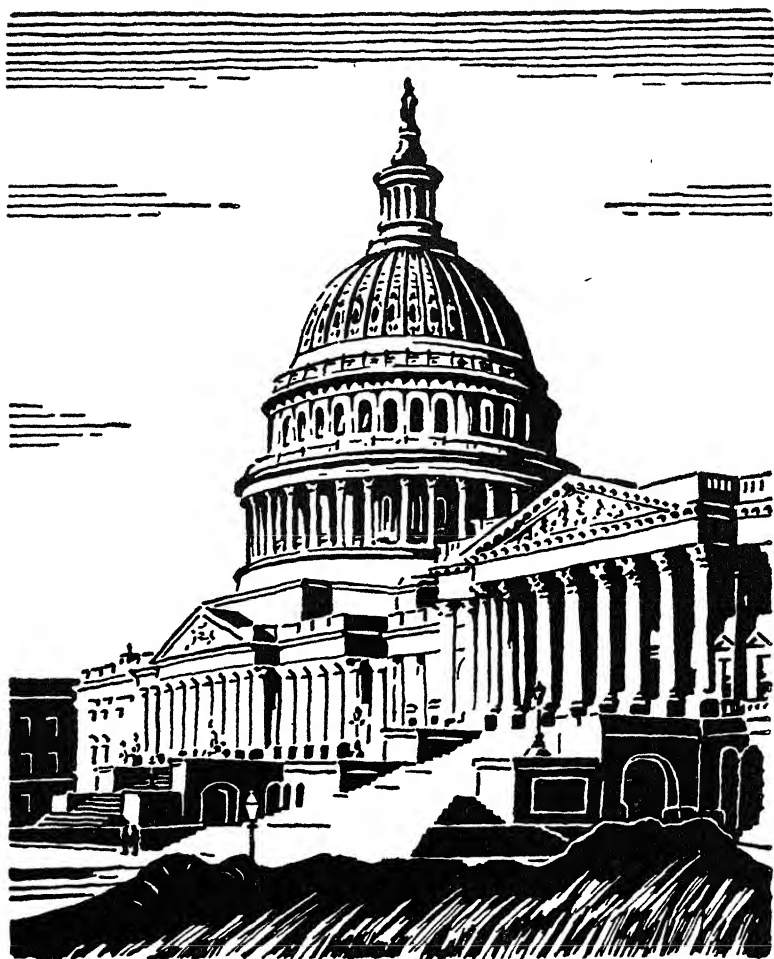
home states to adopt a constitutional right. These Senators did not resign at once, but waited until their states had passed secession ordinances: which again was thoroughly legal, if a bit tactless, in the light of subsequent events.

The North grew very bitter against these actions, primarily because of the shilly-shallying of the Democratic president, Buchanan. But he had been elected as a Democrat, and was known to be pro-Southern, and the worst that can be said about him is that he showed no inclination to lean toward the Northern view of the unconstitutionality of secession, or to protect United States property within the Southern states. The Southern states felt that this property, at least, was only their fair rough share of what they had done toward building up the national accumulation of property. It is easy to grow vehement against their action, and call "Treason!" at their quiet assumption of national property in Southern states. If the North had permitted secession willingly, it would have made some fair settlement of the matter of national property in Southern states, which might have granted the South far more than it took.

But the fact was that there was war in the hearts of both sides, and every action of either side was regarded by the other as outrageous and unjustified. Three quarters of a century later, we may survey the whole picture, and only regret that disunion and warfare were required to settle differing opinions based on differing economic systems.

From the standpoint of the enlightened Southerner of today, the South's continuation of human slavery was barbarous and infinitely short-sighted and regrettable. Once this continuation had been decided upon, the South's actions were legal, not barbarous, and still infinitely short-sighted and regrettable. It is to be doubted if a single intelligent Southerner today is other than happy at the outcome of the Civil War that ensued, no matter how much he may regret the needless heroism on both sides, the needless

sacrifice of valuable human life and property, and the black horror of the Reconstruction that followed the assassination of Lincoln.



Secession Threatens the Nation's Foundations

CHAPTER XXIII

THE BEGINNING OF THE WAR

LINCOLN BECOMES PRESIDENT

ON MARCH 4, 1861, Abraham Lincoln was sworn into office, as President of the United States. His position between his election early in November and the inauguration a third of a year later, had been that of a private citizen, with no more rights in national affairs than any other private citizen. This condition came as an outdated survival of conditions true in 1789, but no longer true. Between—not *his* election, but the election of the presidential electors—in November, and his inauguration, the Constitution intended (a) the tardy journeys of electors to a meeting place, their deliberations and careful surveying of the field of presidential possibilities, their selection of the best one after thoughtful deliberation, (b) their notifying the President-elect of the result of their deliberations, after the slow journey to wherever he resided, (c) an appropriate time for him to journey to the national capital. The time allowed was not excessive for these three steps, in the scattered conditions of population and the sluggish conditions of transportation in 1789. It was absurd, in 1860. It is far more ridiculous today. But laws tend to remain in force long after conditions have changed, demanding altered laws. Where a country has a written constitution difficult of amendment, this is doubly inevitable.

Lincoln had been a very troubled private citizen during the four months, as he saw Confederate preparations

pushed forward at jubilant speed, and paralysis gripping the hands of the government he had been selected to head. A rival president had been presiding over a rival government within the Southern region of the United States for a full month, when Lincoln ceased to be a private citizen and became executive head of the United States. The secessionist government had taken over all the national property in the Southern states, except a few forts. The northern Congress, executive department, judiciary, army, navy was being far more than decimated as Southerners who put their obligations to their states ahead of their obligations to the national government resigned daily and started their journeys southward. There was a vigorous minority in the north that approved of all they had done and intended doing, and bade them good luck on their undertaking.

And Major Anderson, now over 83 men in Fort Sumter, Charleston harbor, wrote to the War Department that his flour was almost gone, and his bacon practically exhausted.

Lincoln's inaugural address was awaited with tense interest South and North. There was not one word in it calculated to stir up the feelings of any Southerner. He expressed his friendliness toward the South. He urged the South to reflect before committing any acts of violence. He said that he would hold on to forts and property belonging to the United States, and collect duties and imposts due to it. He was determined to carry out his inaugural oath, and faithfully execute the duties of his office. He did not intend to use force, he said, or "invade" the South. It would lie in the hands of the South to precipitate any civil war that came, he said; for his part, he would not be the aggressor.

This splendid and conciliatory document is worth careful reading throughout. It is quite possible that, if belated wisdom had been granted to the South at this moment,

the peaceful secession of the Confederate States would have been a fact. It is hardly probable, for Lincoln was one cool head among millions of hotheads North and South. At any rate, he definitely put the burden of aggression on the South: and the South accepted the challenge, as if it did not desire peaceful secession, but was spoiling for war.

Lincoln called his cabinet together shortly after inauguration day, and asked their advice upon the tense situation in Charleston harbor. Buchanan in December had come to an agreement with the South Carolina delegation in Congress, promising neither to reinforce or reprovision the forts in the harbor, so long as the South refrained from attacking them. This was an evasion of responsibility, which bound the national government to stand by and see its garrison starve to death, or surrender. In January Buchanan reversed his policy at the urging of Unionists, and sent the *Star of the West* to garrison Fort Sumter. The guns in the hands of South Carolinians on Morris Island opened fire on the food ship, and on January 9, 1861, compelled her to retire. Firing on the flag has always been regarded as a cause for war. Buchanan continued to evade and discuss, as if anxious for the termination of his term of office to relieve him of further responsibility.

The South Carolina troops continued to strengthen the batteries focussed upon Fort Sumter. Major Anderson reported that it would take 20,000 reinforcements to hold the fort. It was generally felt in the North that this would precipitate war. The feeling was growing in the North that the Southern states should be allowed to withdraw peacefully: the affecting farewells of Southern Senators and Congressmen in Washington to their Northern colleagues, and the moving responses to these, helped grow this spirit—even though the firing on the food ship in Charleston harbor on January 9th had constituted a real act of war. Horace Greeley, editor of the *New York Tribune*, a Repub-

lican as influential in party circles as Seward or Lincoln, favored this policy:

If the cotton states shall decide that they can do better outside of the Union than in it, we insist on letting them go in peace. . . . We hope never to live in a republic whereof one section is pinned to the residue by bayonets.

This was, after all, good American respect for the democratic right to self-government. Great lawyers insisted that it was good constitutional law, as well. Lincoln hated the thought of war. He construed his duty, according to his oath of office, to defend the Constitution: and he may well have been convinced that it forbade secession.

On April 8, 1861, he arrived at a compromise that satisfied his own warring feelings. He wrote Governor Pickens of South Carolina that he was going to supply the garrison at Fort Sumter with provisions, but would not reinforce it with men or ammunition, unless the state sought to prevent the reprovisioning. This was in spirit a further evasion and postponement of final action. If the South had been willing to permit this stalemate to continue, as passions cooled some sort of arbitration might have arrived at a solution acceptable to both sides, and the whole cost of bloodshed and property damage involved in the Civil War would have been saved.

The South did not desire a peaceful settlement. It held the United States forts in Charleston harbor to be by right Southern property: a not unreasonable desire, but a matter that might have been handled by arbitration. Having no desire for arbitration, as soon as it heard of Lincoln's notification to Governor Pickens, the Confederate government at Montgomery instructed General Beauregard, in command of about 7,000 Confederate troops at Charleston, to call for the prompt surrender of the fort. This meant

the commencement of actual warfare, and the South was entirely responsible for it.

FORT SUMTER BOMBARDED

Before dawn broke on the 12th of April, Fort Johnson commenced bombarding Fort Sumter. The bombardment soon became general, the guns on Sullivan's Island, Morris Island, and James Island, east and south and west, all joining in the attack. For two whole days Major Anderson refused to surrender, while a heavy sea kept Northern steamers outside the bar, unable to enter. The fort was finally battered to wreckage and caught fire. Anderson surrendered, and marched his half-suffocated garrison down to the boats that were to take them off.

The die had been cast for war, and it was not slow to come. On April 15th, the day after the surrender, Lincoln proclaimed that in seven states the laws of the United States were being opposed

by combinations too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceeding, and called on the states for 75,000 of their militiamen, to put down these "combinations." He called on all persons concerned in the uprisings to disperse within twenty days, and called a special session of Congress for July 4th. He did not recognize any right of secession at all: to him, there were merely disloyal combinations in certain states, who must be forced to return to an observance of the laws.

Warfare united the North as nothing else could have done. Party lines and political hatreds were forgotten. Douglas rushed to the White House, and assured Lincoln of his complete support in defense of the Union. The two ex-Presidents, Pierce and Buchanan, both pro-Southern hitherto, promised full support to the Union cause. The group who had urged letting the South depart in peace all joined in the summons to battle. The United States flag

had been fired upon, by direct order of the Montgomery government: and in a moment of national emergency the nation, for the moment at least, became a unit in defense of the flag.

The South went wild over the surrender of Fort Sumter. The Confederate Secretary of War, Walker, said that in 15 days the Confederate stars and bars would be unfurled to the breeze over the dome of the Capitol at Washington. The South looked upon Lincoln's call for troops as a wicked threat to invade independent states and conquer a people who demanded only to be let alone—except when they decided to fire on the United States flag, of course. The Confederate Congress at Montgomery proceeded with its raising an army of 100,000 men, and sought a loan of \$50,000,000.

THE CONFEDERACY GROWS

Lincoln's call for troops did one important thing for the South—it drove four doubtful and wavering states into joining the Confederacy. These were North Carolina, Arkansas, Tennessee, and Virginia, most important of all—the first English colony on the continent, the Mother of Presidents, the spiritual and economic leader of the South in the early days. The governors of Kentucky and Missouri refused to send militia to aid in conquering their sister states of the South, and stayed only half-heartedly in the Union. Missouri saw a little civil war of its own between secessionists and Union forces, with the latter driving the forces of secessionist Governor Jackson out of the state capital.

Richmond was made the capital of the Confederacy, to gain the prestige of its past history, and to have a capital closer to the war's objective on the part of the South, the capture of Washington. Virginia also furnished to the South its greatest general, Robert E. Lee, son of a great Revolutionary general, and a member of one of the most

distinguished families in the South. Lee was a man of the most unblemished personal character, noble, courageous, brainy, and generous. Lincoln had already selected him to lead the armies of the United States, and had notified him of this. But Lee felt that he was a Virginian first and foremost, and that his conscience would not let him draw his sword against his own state, or resist its appeal to come to its aid in a moment of need. He resigned his commission in the United States army and offered his sword to Virginia. He was at first commander of the Virginia troops, and, after May, 1862, was made general of the Confederate forces in Virginia. Lee was never a favorite with Jefferson Davis, and it was not until 1865 that Davis responded to almost universal Southern pressure, and named Lee over all the Confederate troops.

GUARDING WASHINGTON

The addition of Virginia to the Confederacy made it possible for the Confederate flag to be seen flying in the hostile breezes within sight of the Capitol at Washington. The city was unfortified and almost defenseless. Wild rumors spread that Beauregard had marched up from Charleston, and was about to attack the national capital. Northern militia had to cross the slave state of Maryland, to reach the capital. Baltimore was especially full of secession sentiment. As the 6th Massachusetts regiment marched through the streets of Baltimore, a mob attacked it, and it had to fight its way on to Washington in a sanguinary street battle. This took place on April 19th, the anniversary of the battle of Lexington.

Lincoln was in agony for the safety of the seat of government. Panic-stricken men left Washington by hundreds, like rats from a sinking ship. Governor Hicks of Maryland wired the President, urging him to send no more troops through Baltimore, for fear of actual warfare there. Seces-

sionist mobs tore up railroads and wrecked bridges. The telegraph wires were cut. There was no communication between the government and the Northern states. Lincoln expected any moment to see Confederate gunboats come steaming up the Potomac, to demand the surrender of the capital. He cried aloud a plea to the Northern troops to hurry and save the city.

Massachusetts troops and the 7th New York regiment sailed up Chesapeake Bay to Annapolis, laid down the torn-up railroad tracks, repaired the broken-down bridges, and on April 25th marched into the national capital. And now for the first time there was rejoicing in Washington. The soldiers had come; the capital was saved!

THE NORTH AGAINST THE SOUTH

As is usual in warfare, each section was convinced that it was entirely in the right, was carrying out God's will against the enemies of the Lord, was defending its homes and firesides from ruthless vandalism and aggression, and would have no difficulty in vanquishing the other side. Since 1820 the press, the statesmen and politicians, the preachers, of each section had been building up a false and erroneous idea of the other section in the popular mind, until all sane judgment and information had long since vanished.

The South marched forth under the inspiring strains of a minstrel song, "Dixie," one of the world's most rousing tunes. It called its section Dixie or Dixie land; not, as was commonly supposed, from the Mason and *Dixon* line separating Maryland and Pennsylvania. Dixie or Dixie land probably originally referred to a plantation on Staten Island in New York harbor, where Negroes were exceptionally well treated; various lines in the song ("Early on one frosty mornin'," "Buckwheat cakes an' Injun batter"—buckwheat being largely unknown in the South) pointing to a more northerly origin than is commonly supposed. The

song was chiefly about the marriage of Will the Weaver and "Old missis", whose heart was broken by the gay deceiver she married, and was no more martial in meaning than the satiric Yankee Doodle, to which the ragged Continentals had marched against the redcoats. But it made a magnificent battle hymn. Along with it rang out the gorgeous eloquence of James Ryder Randall's *Maryland, My Maryland*,

The despot's heel is on thy shore,

Maryland!

His torch is at thy temple door,

Maryland!

Avenge the patriotic gore

That flecked the streets of Baltimore,

And be the battle-queen of yore,

Maryland, my Maryland!

The state was appealed to reveal its "peerless chivalry. . . . And gird thy beauteous limbs with steel"; and this sentiment strengthened the rest of the South, although the state itself did not respond to the appeal, but remained pro-Union throughout the war. The North was stirred most by the Crusading fervor of Julia Ward Howe's splendid *Battle-Hymn of the Republic*, written in 1861 to the tune of *John Brown's Body*:

Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord,
He is trampling out the vintage where the grapes of wrath
are restored;

He hath loosed the fateful lightning of His terrible swift
sword;

His truth is marching on.

The South was pictured as the serpent whose head the inspired North was crushing:

*As He died to make men holy, let us die to make men free,
While God is marching on.*

The Southerners regarded the Northerners (quoting correspondent Russell of the London *Times*) as "abolitionists, cutthroats, Lincolnite mercenaries, invaders, assassins." An Atlanta paper heartened the Southern patriots:

War has been forced upon us by the folly and fanaticism of the Northern abolitionists. . . . We fight for our liberties, our altars, our firesides. . . . Surely 8,000,000 people armed in the holy cause of liberty . . . are invincible by any force the North can send against them.

Profoundly convinced that God himself had decreed eternal slavery for the blacks, and construing their warfare to spread slavery throughout the United States as a fight "in the holy cause of liberty," the South proceeded to battle and die. Across the Mason-Dixon line mass-meetings passed such resolutions as that one resolving—

that this infamous, hell-born rebellion against the mildest, the most beneficent government ever vouchsafed to men (must be put down), and our glorious Constitution restored in every part of our country.

The same English correspondent found the Northerners calling the Southerners "rebels, robbers, conspirators, wretches bent on destroying the most perfect government on the face of the earth." The soldiers themselves called their enemies Johnny Yanks and Johnny Rebs, fraternized on every opportunity, and got along very well together when not shooting at each other.

THE TWO SECTIONS COMPARED

In territory, the South was not distinctly inferior to the North. There the equality ended. There were about 19,000,000 inhabitants in the 18 free states by the 1860

census, not to speak of 3,000,000 more in the 4 loyal slave states. The North could put an army of 5,000,000 in the field. Her population was increasing rapidly, especially by immigration. The South had a total population of 9,000,000, of whom 5,400,000 were white, and 3,600,000 were Negro slaves. At best, she could only put an army of 1,500,000 in the field.

The South thought that it was economically more prosperous than the North, overlooking the appalling proofs to the contrary that Helper's *Impending Crisis* had furnished in 1857. It based this upon the fact that two-thirds of the country's exports consisted of Southern cotton—\$125,000,000 out of \$197,000,000. But prosperity does not consist in wealth restricted to a few thousand rich men, of agricultural origin, in a society almost wholly lacking in manufacturing industries, which are of course essential to modern warfare. The vast majority of Southerners were classed as poor whites, increasingly shiftless and kept in idleness, while the labor in demand was slave Negro labor.

In all that meant economic progress, the whole South was backward. The North excelled enormously in railroad mileage, manufacturing, cities, education. The South spun and wove less than 3 percent of the cotton she grew. The North had three-fourths of the 31,000 miles of railroad track in the country in 1860. In total manufactures, the North led the South 12 to 1. In illiteracy, the adult white population showed 15 percent who could neither read nor write; Massachusetts had less than one half of one per cent. A certain modicum of the world's luxuries could be acquired by the 380,000 aristocratic planters and their families; the 5,000,000 other non-slaveholding Southern whites lacked as a rule the decent necessities of life that the whole Northern population in general enjoyed.

As long as the South fought on its own soil, this would give them an advantage; but this was not their original

intention, which was to capture Washington swiftly and secure the capitulation of the Northern resistance to the Confederate seceding states, in such manner that the North would gladly surrender all federal property throughout the South to the Confederates. The South counted on the fact that, man for man, they were better fighters: since an armed agricultural and master class population is more used to warfare than the clerks, mechanics, and small rural and suburban farmers of the North. Southerners usually carried firearms, and fought at the drop of a hat; the North had become more civilized. Southerners were more used to horseback riding than the North, and should make better cavalymen. The army was regarded as a more important career in the South than in the North, and the number of trained army officers in the South was greater than in the North.

The South counted on three additional allies:

1. England, France, and other nations consuming her raw cotton.
2. The other border slave states.
3. The 1,370,000 northern Democrats who had opposed Lincoln.

None of these fully lived up to Southern hopes. The Northern Democrats had rallied swiftly to the Union cause. This overnight conversion did not survive completely. There was always a strong body of Southern sympathizers in the North, especially as the war developed into the long bloody deadlock that followed. But the defection of the pro-Southern Northern Democrats shocked the South and injured its chances of success, from the start. Only four of the border states joined her. Queen Victoria proclaimed neutrality in May, 1861. Emperor Napoleon III assured the Confederate envoy, John Slidell, that he was very sympathetic to the South. But he was careful not to express this by definitive action that would have aided the South.

In fact, even the seceding South was not one hundred per cent on the side of the Confederacy. There were sections entirely unsuitable to slavery in the South, particularly in the mountain region stretching from the Virginia Appalachians southwestward through North Carolina, Tennessee, Georgia, and Alabama. Many prominent Alabamians opposed secession early in 1861, and were the nucleus for the abortive effort to organize a neutral state of the hill counties of Alabama, Georgia and Tennessee, to be called the state of Nickajack. This movement failed, when Lincoln called the North to the colors. Forty counties in the western part of Virginia broke away from the parent state and formed a Unionist government loyal to the United States. Lincoln recognized this, and in 1863 it was admitted to the Union as West Virginia. Robert E. Lee dubbed these West Virginians "traitors" for deserting their state. The importance of loyalty to the national government was by no means recognized, among men of high character.

THE OPENING OF THE WAR

The Civil War settled two tremendously important matters: it abolished Negro slavery forever; and it cemented the Union into an enduring nation, though this had to be at the price of fraternal blood. The official government records of the war enumerate more than 2,000 hostile engagements, 150 of which are designated as battles. History once consisted almost exclusively of lists of kings, conquerors, and details of campaigns and battles. The emphasis today is upon the vastly more significant and enduring history of the people themselves. Yet this war bulked so large in the lives of the people, that at least the major campaigns and battles must be looked to.

Altogether, 1,556,687 Unionist troops were engaged in the war, and 1,082,119 Confederates. It was not properly a Civil War, which applies properly to an armed struggle

between two differing groups on the same territory. The South was practically a unit throughout the war; it took place in the South, except for one northward campaign, and consisted of a warfare between the united South and a slightly less united north. Alexander Stephens proposed the accurate title, *The War Between the States*. *The War of Secession* is preferred by some historians. But the Civil War it is, in the popular mind; and that rules.

The superior resources of the North, especially as regards man power and manufactures, was not so evident at the start of the war, but it fell with crushing effect on the South, before the struggle was over. The South had expected to receive for its cotton the needed manufactured ammunitions and other necessities from Europe, but that depended on her ability to keep her ports open, and she had no navy to insure this. The fact that most of the fighting took place on the South was of immeasurable benefit to the Confederacy, halving her problem of base of supplies and transportation. Even this in the long run the North overcame.

The Confederate Congress met first in the new capital of the Confederacy, Richmond, on July 20, 1861. The North had determined that the Confederate Congress should never hold this meeting. The cry that rang through the North in 1861 was "On to Richmond!" The North realized that its troops were raw and unprepared, and that the quartermaster's department, in charge of military supplies except food, and transportation, as well as the commissariat, in charge of food, were not ready for any aggressive campaign. But the militia had been enlisted in April for only three months, at that time regarded as the probable limit of the war, and the North clamored for action against the South. And so Lincoln and the commander of the army, General Scott, bowed to the popular clamor, and the Union march on Richmond commenced.

The Confederate General Beauregard had marched up from Charleston, and held 22,000 Confederate troops massed at Manassas Junction, a little town near the little stream called Bull Run, in Virginia some thirty-five miles southwest of Washington. In the wide Shenandoah valley, to the west across the Blue Ridge mountains, General Joseph E. Johnston, a Virginian classmate of Lee's at West Point, and next to Lee the shrewdest soldier the South produced, was stationed with 9,000 Confederate troops. General Patterson, a veteran of the War of 1812, was detailed to keep Johnston occupied in the Shenandoah valley, while the "grand army" of 30,000 men under General McDowell was to rout Beauregard at Manassas.

On July 16th the grand army set out, as if for a holiday. Many of the Congressmen and other Washington officials went along, to have the historic pleasure of seeing the Confederate rebellion crushed at a single blow. The battle took place on the 21st. It was stubbornly fought on both sides. But Johnston had slipped away from Winchester, leaving Patterson at Harpers Ferry, and the night before battle joined he united his forces to Beauregard's, and the undisciplined soldiers of McDowell, all unused to the strain of a great battle, threw down their muskets and fled in wild rout toward the Potomac. During the next two days they straggled ingloriously into Washington. Again the capital was in a panic, for fear the victorious troops of Beauregard and Johnston would march straight ahead, and capture the national capital at the first major thrust of the war.

But the Confederate troops were as raw as their opponents, and did not seize the golden opportunity. They held their ground, organizing for later warfare. Meanwhile, General George B. McClellan, who had spent May and June holding West Virginia for the Union, was given the command of the army on the Potomac. President Jefferson Davis had come to the battlefield in person, to witness the

Confederate triumph; and fleeing Confederates in the afternoon had told him that the battle was lost. He had retired more soberly to Richmond. Both sides began to see that this was to be no war of months only. McClellan, a splendid drillmaster, went to work on the 180,000 recruits who came in response to Lincoln's renewed call for troops. By the autumn of 1861, McClellan had a well disciplined army nearly three times as large as the opposing forces under Robert E. Lee and Joseph E. Johnston. On the last of October Scott resigned, and McClellan was made general in chief of the armed forces of the United States.

It had settled down into a real war at last. The two sides were equally confident. The two great sections waited breathlessly for the next move.



CHAPTER XXIV

THE MAJOR CAMPAIGNS OF THE WAR

THE WAR IN THE EAST

MCCLELLAN had the army ready which should have marched right down against Richmond in the autumn of the first year of the war, and captured it in spite of opposition. He was cautious to the point of an obsession. He had no personal fear; but to him his army was a living organism, and he could not face the prospect of losing a single brigade, even to win a war. In his terrified imagination, the Confederate forces were multiplied to three times their actual strength. To defend his inaction, he spent his energies scolding Secretary of War Stanton and even President Lincoln. He spoke about the "insane folly" of his immediate superior, and wrote to him shortly after his appointment in January, 1862—

You must send me large reinforcements, and send them at once. . . . If I save this army now (which incidentally outnumbered the enemy three to one!) I tell you plainly that I owe no thanks to you or to any other persons in Washington (that is, to President Lincoln).

You have done your best to sacrifice this army.

This was hardly the stuff of which aggressive heroism was made.

Washington constantly demanded that the tremendous force move against the numerically inferior Confederates. Late in the spring of 1862, McClellan began his campaign up the peninsula between the York and the James rivers—

the Peninsular Campaign. Scott, in 1847, had surged with a vastly inferior force up from Vera Cruz against the capital, Mexico City; McClellan marched as cautiously as if a fearful force was waiting to overwhelm him.

He arrived within four miles of Richmond. The church spires of the capital of the Confederacy could be seen in the clear spring sunlight. But Lincoln had summoned away McDowell's 40,000 army to protect the national capital from the brilliant maneuvers of General Thomas J. ("Stonewall") Jackson, whose army of 17,000 men had defeated and outwitted 50,000 Union troops in the Shenandoah Valley, and now threatened the city of Washington itself. Jackson was almost as brilliant a commander as Lee and Johnston, and he was deeply religious, similar to great Oliver Cromwell. He had received his nickname at Bull Run. Even though the departure of McDowell left McClellan vastly superior in numbers to the enemy, he decided to shift his base of attack to the James River, and thus release Richmond from the threatened capture.

Lee and Johnston immediately turned in pursuit. McClellan was a brilliant if over-cautious strategist, and he won several preliminary engagements on the defensive, finally, on July 1, 1862, at Malvern Hill, routing the Confederates in one of the bloodiest battles of the war. Again Richmond lay before him for the taking. He executed a strategic retirement back to Harrison's Landing on the James, where he could have Union gunboats at his back. As a result of this policy of masterly inactivity, Lincoln removed McClellan from the supreme command on the 11th of the same month.

A year had passed and no progress had been made, in spite of vastly superior Union forces. But the United States navy, under the able direction of Secretary Welles, had been more than effective. Its blockade of the 3,000 miles of Confederate coast had been so thorough, that the exports of

cotton from the South to Europe had dropped off more than 95 percent, or down to \$4,000,000. The South expected Great Britain to intervene, since it was to her that most of this cotton would have gone. In November, 1861, Captain Wilkes of the Union sloop of war *San Jacinto* stopped the British mail steamer *Trent* on her return to Europe from Havana, and, in defiance of international law, removed by force from it the Confederate commissioners to Great Britain and France, John Y. Mason and John Slidell. Mason and Slidell were delivered as prisoners to Fort Warren in the harbor of Boston.

The North exulted over this. The Secretary of the Navy, and the House of Representatives, formally thanked the captain for his act. The South expected a war between the United States and England to materialize from this high-handed act. Victoria's government began to embark troops for Canada. But the statesmen at Washington realized that this was the very sort of act we had protested against so in the preliminaries to the war of 1812. Seward notified the British minister, Lord Lyons, on December 26, 1861, that the prisoners would be cheerfully liberated, and this ended the incident.

On March 9, 1862, the first ironclads met in a naval battle. The Confederates had raised the sunken hull of the *Merrimac* at their Norfolk Navy Yards, and had covered her with a sloping upper body of iron rails smeared with tallow and plumbago—making her the first ironclad battleship in naval annals. She was renamed the *Virginia*, and on March 8th sailed into Hampton Roads and destroyed two of the largest wooden ships of the Union navy. She expected to demolish the rest of the fleet on the next day, and then steam up the Potomac and destroy the city of Washington. That very night Captain Ericsson's invention, the *Monitor*, arrived from New York—a boat flush with the water except for its iron-armored revolving gun turret, wittily described

by an observer as a "cheese box on a raft." When dawn came, the *Monitor* rolled easily between the *Merrimac* and the wooden navy. The two ships fought all day, the contest ending in a draw. The *Merrimac* steamed away, and the out-of-date wooden fleet and Washington were saved.

THE WAR BEYOND THE ALLEGHENIES

The Union forces were faring very differently in the West. The North wanted to blockade the Confederate ports in the East, and capture Richmond; but it was quite as important to them to open the Mississippi to their traffic; and the Confederates had sealed up the river from its junction with the Ohio clear down to New Orleans. A major result of this opening of the Mississippi would be to split the Confederacy in two, and isolate Texas, Louisiana and Arkansas on the west from their sister states.

Two men are entitled to major credit for this—General Ulysses S. Grant and Admiral David G. Farragut. Grant was a West Pointer who had served acceptably in the Mexican War, but had sunk into comparative obscurity. When the war broke out, at the age of thirty-nine he was a mule-driver to and from the tin mills of Galena, Illinois. He enlisted, became a captain, and, with the permission of General H. W. Halleck, commander in the West, he captured the vital fortifications at Forts Henry and Donelson, twelve miles apart, on the Tennessee and Cumberland Rivers. There were 17,000 troops at Fort Donelson. They asked for the terms of capitulation. "Unconditional surrender," replied the doughty son of Ohio. He was called "Unconditional Surrender" Grant from then on.

Grant drove ahead with his victorious little army a hundred miles across Tennessee, to Pittsburg Landing. He was supposed to wait here for the arrival of Buell's army. A much larger Confederate force under General Albert Sidney Johnston, a Kentuckian who had migrated to Texas, and

who was regarded as the best Southern general when the war broke out, attacked him here. The battle of Shiloh or Pittsburg Landing raged for two days, April 6th and 7th. Johnston, during the first day, drove the Unionists back to the river bluffs. During the night Buell arrived, and on the second day they turned the tables completely. General Johnston was killed during the battle, as were 10,000 Confederate troops. The remainder retired to Corinth, Mississippi, thus clearing western Tennessee of Confederate troops entirely. At the same time, General Pope and Commodore Foote brought their army and gunboats down the Mississippi as far as the high bluffs of Vicksburg, Mississippi, with the task of opening the mighty stream more than half accomplished.

Memphis surrendered in June, and Lincoln commenced the "reconstruction" of the first conquered Southern territory by naming Andrew Johnson, a self-made man who had worked his way up from tailoring to the United States Senatorship, as military governor. Johnson had been a Southern "poor white," and throughout had been a loyal Union man. While all this was being done on the upper part of the river, Captain David G. Farragut, on the night of April 23, 1862, destroyed the defenses of New Orleans. To do this, he had to run past the fire of Forts Jackson and St. Philip, and crash through the heavy "boom" of old ships' hulks anchored and chained together. The city was now exposed to the fire of the Union ships, and the Confederate troops withdrew. The Unionists under General B. F. Butler marched in, and for six months Butler ruled as military governor. The campaigns in the East might have resulted in a deadlock; in the West, by the end of the first year and a half of warfare, the Mississippi had been taken, except for the brief strip of 150 miles between the precipitous bluffs of Port Hudson and Vicksburg. This 150 miles of Confederate territory was used by the Confederates to

transport Texas beef and Louisiana sugar to the needy troops in the East. The North determined to take this stretch too.

THE LOSING CAMPAIGNS IN THE EAST

When McClellan was relieved of his high command on July 11, 1862, General H. W. Halleck, the brilliant commander of the armies of the West, was called to Washington as general in chief of the Unionist forces. He was posted in Washington as chief adviser of Lincoln and Stanton; McClellan was left in command of a much smaller Army of the Potomac while General Pope, who had pushed down the Mississippi successfully as far as Vicksburg, was put in charge of a new Unionist Army of Virginia.

Then followed ten disappointing months for the Northern cause. Lee, Stonewall Jackson, Longstreet, Ewell, Jeb Stuart's cavalry, the Hills, outthought and outfought the Northern generals in every engagement. Pope was trounced severely at a second Battle of Bull Run, in August of 1862. Stonewall Jackson, by a brilliant manoeuvre, captured the Unionist stores and headquarters, took all that could be transported South, and burned the rest. The light of the conflagration was visible in dismayed Washington, to which point Pope's whole army had had to retire.

For once Lincoln overruled the advice of his Secretary of War and commander-in-chief in the field, and restored McClellan to command. McClellan was brilliant on the defensive, and when Lee marched triumphantly into Maryland, McClellan stopped him in the bloodiest day's fighting of the entire war, the battle of Sharpsburg on Antietam Creek. This was the 17th of September. McClellan could have followed up his advantage, and smothered the Confederates before they could regain Virginia territory. He let the opportunity glide out of his hands again.

He was again removed, and General Burnside substituted.

Burnside recklessly attacked Marye's Heights behind Fredricksburg, Virginia, where the Confederates had dug in in a manner similar to trench warfare in the World War of 1914. He was thrown back with severe losses on December 13th, and General "Fighting Joe" Hooker was put in his place. On May 1st of the next year, Hooker met the Confederates in a three days' battle at Chancellorsville, and was driven from the field. Stonewall Jackson, the brilliant Southern leader, lost his life in this battle, being shot for a Union officer by mistake by his own troops, when he was reconnoitering. The tremendous victory did not compensate for the loss of the main prop of Lee's maneuvers.

In this spring of 1863, the Unionist cause seemed lost. For two years a vastly superior Unionist army had tried to capture Richmond, and had nothing to show for their efforts except a succession of defeats, which were all heartening to the Confederacy. The cost in man power on the South had been severe; but at least they had more than held their own, in the most conspicuous theatre of martial battling. Lee was planning another invasion of the Northern states. A thousand Union soldiers were deserting every week. Officers by the wholesale were securing leaves to go home on "vacation." The army needed men, and recruiting had failed to secure them. Attempts to enforce conscription by draft had resulted in Draft Riots throughout the North. In New York City alone the cost of the riots of July, 1863, had been 1,000 lives and \$1,500,000 worth of property. The war was costing more than the North had dreamed possible. The war debt was increasing at the rate of \$2,500,000 per day. It was becoming impossible to borrow the funds to keep the army in the field.

In the Congressional elections of 1862—the election midway of Lincoln's first term—the general feeling that Lincoln's administration had failed was shown by Democratic victories in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio,

Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin. All the high unity and enthusiasm that had rallied the North together, after the firing on Fort Sumter, was gone. Clement Vallandigham, an Ohio Democrat, declared on the floor of the House in mid 1863,

You have not conquered the South. You never will.

. . . Money you have expended without limit, and blood poured out like water. . . . Defeat, debt, taxation, and sepulchres—these are your only trophies.

Vallandigham was one of the able leaders of the Copperheads, or Northern Democrats who demanded peace with the South. Respect for the constitutional right of free speech, especially on the part of a Congressman, caused every motion to expel him to fail. But General Burnside, in Ohio, was not so respectful of laws; and he tried the Congressman for treason, held him guilty, and ordered him jailed. Lincoln commuted this sentence to banishment within the Confederate lines—where Vallandigham was more the hero than ever. He was of course never a traitor to the North, merely a fanatical believer in the Constitution and states' rights. Edward Everett Hale wrote "The Man Without a Country," which appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly* at the end of 1863, as a Republican comment on such conduct as Vallandigham's.

INTO THE NORTH—AND GETTYSBURG

The Confederates had penetrated the Northern states repeatedly, in raids into Ohio, Indiana, Pennsylvania and elsewhere, made by the brilliant Southern cavalry leaders, J. E. B. Stuart, Mosby, and Morgan. But these were for the purpose of spreading a feeling of insecurity throughout the North, or distracting attention from some objective elsewhere; and, except for these, down to June 1863 the warfare had taken place in the South. But the South had now demonstrated that the North could not find a general who could defeat its main army. And so, in June, 1863, General

Lee aimed his magnificent army of 75,000 tried veterans across the Potomac, determining to drive on northward until the financial faint-hearts in New York and elsewhere would force the wearied administration to make peace.

General George G. Meade had taken the place of Fighting Joe Hooker, so unsuccessful at Chancellorsville, in command of the Army of the Potomac. He had a force of 80,000 well trained men under him, and, when he learned of the Confederate approach, he posted them on the undulating heights of Cemetery Ridge and Round Top, just south of the little Pennsylvania town of Gettysburg. On July 1st, the Confederates attacked. That day and the next they were, on the whole, successful. But the superior manpower of the North was a thing we must never forget: and this battle was being fought on Northern soil, where Northern troops could be poured into the shattered lines most easily. At the beginning of the third day's fighting, Meade, for all of his losses, still had 90,000 men posted on the heights above Gettysburg—more than he had started with. And there were no swift reinforcements to take the place of the Confederate soldiers who died.

Lee was by now worn out with his efforts to pierce this line that was constantly being strengthened. He determined to risk everything on a direct frontal attack on a position apparently impregnable. Longstreet and his other able advisers almost wept, pleading with Lee not to jeopardize everything on one hopeless gesture. Lee shut his mind to all advice, and directed General Pickett, with 15,000 troops, the flower of the Southern army, to storm Hancock's lines on Cemetery Ridge. Pickett did as he was told. He led his men across the wide fields and into artillery fire that halved their numbers, and would have shaken any troops but these. The Confederates closed ranks and went on up that hill of withering death, with Hancock's musketfire blasting them to nothingness, from behind impenetrable fortifications.

One hundred Confederates, led by Armistead, actually cracked the Union line and planted the stars and bars high over the ridge. And then the gunfire from all sides got them too. The magnificent line wavered, halted, bent slowly backward, and what was left of it made its way back to the aghast Confederate lines. Grant that Lee had underestimated the resistance of the Northern commander, and had expected a panic when his flag reached the height, it still remains that this charge was an act of supreme folly, and decisively and dramatically told the world that bravery could not defeat barricaded manpower. Robert E. Lee is still the Southern idol. If any one man's act caused the defeat of the Confederacy, the order to Pickett on July 3rd did that.

The North at last had something tangible to celebrate. On the next day, July 4th, while the North was frantic with delight over the outcome of the battle of Gettysburg, word came from the West that Vicksburg had fallen, and the Union had the Mississippi in its control again. As General Lee slowly marched his bedraggled remnants back to the Potomac, through a bitter dreary rainstorm, Grant and Sherman rode into Vicksburg. For six months Pemberton had held out, against the North's superiority in numbers, the bulldog attacks of Grant, the splendid strategy of Sherman. The Confederate general had surrendered 170 cannon, 50,000 rifles, and 30,000 starving Confederate soldiers as prisoners of war. Grant had added gun to gun, until the inhabitants had to burrow out underground caves in the clay banks above the river. Their food in the end had been reduced to rats, mules and chewing shoe leather. If only Albert Sidney Johnston could have broken through. . . . But he did not. Five days after Vicksburg, Port Hudson fell, and Lincoln could word it as no other American could, in his exultant cry.

The Father of Waters goes again unvexed to the sea.

Lee sent in his resignation to Davis, the day after Gettysburg. Davis, for all that he did not at any time like Lee personally, refused to accept it. Meade could have followed Lee's broken army and smashed it, before it reached the Potomac—perhaps ending the war at this point. But some sort of paralysis up to now had seized Northern generals at the moment of possible victory; and Meade let Lee go, following slowly and ultimately going into winter quarters about 75 miles northwest of the Confederate capital, at Culpepper. This time Lincoln did not remove him from command. It seemed impossible to get a general who understood that warfare consisted of fighting until victory.



Gettysburg

CHAPTER XXV

THE STALEMATE IS BROKEN

HOW THE NORTH FOUGHT THE WAR

IF PICKETT's charge had won, for some months thereafter the Northern press (except the Copperhead press, which diminished Gettysburg into a Confederate victory), would have claimed that Meade had strategically permitted this temporary Confederate advantage, to deliver a more telling stroke later; that he had actually outthought and outmaneuvered the South. Now that Lee's army was broken and had barely managed to stumble back into Virginia, the Southern newspapers, especially in Richmond and Charleston, promptly turned Gettysburg into a great Southern victory, in their accounts of the battle. But the thoughtful Southerners saw that at last, after more than two years of warfare, the South had begun to lose. It never thereafter began to win. All that its greatest efforts could do was to postpone defeat for two years more. It had lost sixty thousand men. It could not afford this. It had lost the strong Northern feeling that the South was invincible. This too was a body blow. It had lost the British feeling that the South would win. And at last it began to be faced with generals who could plan a campaign, and execute it.

Lee had planned to throw the Northern bankers and financiers into a panic, and win the war by bankrupting the treasury of the United States. The results of Gettysburg and Vicksburg were to unlock timorous capital, so that the big bankers lent to the government freely, and the reassured

hoarders of a little money brought it forth gladly and invested it in the government's coupon bonds, aimed to finance the war. In 1861, Secretary Chase had had to pay 7.3 percent interest to secure any money; now all he wished was available at 6 percent, although the public debt had risen 900 percent, to \$1,000,000,000. This established popular confidence in the Union cause.

Altogether the North borrowed \$2,600,000,000 to finance the war, in addition to raising some \$667,000,000 by various kinds of taxation. A direct income tax of 3 percent on incomes under \$10,000, and 5 percent above, had been laid, indicating already a democratic tendency holding that those with larger incomes had more at stake in the welfare of the government, and must support it by sacrificing a larger percentage of their income. For indirect taxation, the tariff was raised on practically everything, and there were internal revenue taxes on the consumption of practically everything except the bare necessities of life. Early in 1863 Chase invented the national bank system, primarily to sell government bonds—promises to pay back government loans after a term of years, with interest paid annually. Five or more men might form a bank, purchase a certain amount of government bonds, and thereupon issue up to 90 percent of the amount of these bonds in bank bills: after 1900, the full value of the bonds. In return, the government promised to pay these bank bills, if for any reason the bank could not. The bankers received their interest from the government, and in turn invested the bank bills in loans and other profitable enterprises. By 1917, there were more than 7600 of these national banks in the United States, with an aggregate capital of over \$1,000,000,000. They were private enterprises whose bank bills were guaranteed by the government; although their deposits were not so guaranteed, until after the depression of 1929.

ENGLAND CHANGES ITS MIND

Upper class sentiment in England continued largely on the side of the South. The sentiment of the working class of England sided vaguely with the Northern states, with their mills and factories similar to English ones, and with kindred problems. But the English aristocracy felt little in common with Northern shopkeepers, and were insensibly drawn to the Southern states who furnished them the raw cotton for manufacturing, above the fact that the South had always been, in its daily living, institutions and attitudes, far more similar to England than New England had been. The doleful series of Northern failures in 1862 reassured Great Britain in its opinion that the Unionist forces could not defeat the seceding states. Gladstone, a cabinet member, said in October, 1862, in an address at Newcastle,

There is no doubt that Jefferson Davis and other leaders of the South have made an army. They are making, it appears, a navy. And they have made what is more than either—a nation. . . . We may anticipate with certainty the success of the Southern states, so far as their separation from the North is concerned.

In the beginning of 1863, when Lee was planning his invasion of the North that came to grief in the wild charge of Pickett's men up the hill of death, the Confederate states offered their bonds abroad; and English capitalists purchased \$10,000,000 worth of these.

The news from Gettysburg, followed by the account of the fall of Vicksburg and Port Hudson, sent the value of these bonds down 20 percent. The people of Great Britain suddenly realized that their idea of an invincible South was a delusion. Mason, the Confederate minister, did his best; it was too late. Slidell, Confederate minister to France, offered Napoleon III \$12,500,000 worth of cotton, 100,000 bales in all, if France would send a fleet to break the Union-

ist blockade of Southern ports. After all, it had been a French fleet that had turned the tide of fortunes in the American Revolution, and had penned Lord Cornwallis and his redcoats on Yorktown peninsula. Napoleon was considering this, when news of Gettysburg and Vicksburg arrived. The project fell of its own weight. Hope of European aid, for the time being at least, had to be abandoned.

THE ANACONDA POLICY

Up to the time of Gettysburg and Vicksburg, there had been no unified Unionist campaign—only three isolated efforts: one to capture Richmond; one to open the Mississippi to Unionist navigation clear down to the Gulf; and the last, a vague drive of an army under Buell, later commanded by Rosecrans, to hold the border states of Kentucky and Tennessee in line. Lincoln had placed Andrew Johnson as military governor of East Tennessee, and regarded this mountainous region, because of its large pro-Union sentiment, as the nucleus of another possible Unionist state, like West Virginia. He was especially anxious to have it held for the Union. But the Confederate general Braxton Bragg was threatening now to drive Buell back, and on this front at least no decisive Unionist victory had taken place.

At the same time as Lee's penetration of Maryland, in the autumn of 1862, Bragg had entered Kentucky, bringing with him 15,000 stands of ammunition for the Kentucky pro-slavery men. Arrogantly he promulgated his manifesto:

Kentuckians, I offer you the opportunity to free yourselves from the tyranny of a despotic ruler.

But the Kentuckians that he appealed to, in part mountaineers with their own conception of liberty, which did not include human slavery, were deaf to his appeal. Buell drove him back from Kentucky at the battle of Perryville, on the day after Gladstone assured Great Britain the "certainty" of the success of the Confederacy. Three months later, in a

three days battle extending over the New Year, General Rosecrans defeated Bragg at Murfreesboro, in Tennessee, and forced his retirement to the heights above Chattanooga.

And now the Unionist staff for the first time formulated a combined policy for the movements of all their armies, the famous Anaconda Policy. Now that the Mississippi was opened, Grant and Sherman were free to march across Mississippi and Alabama, join with Rosecrans at Chattanooga, and push the Confederates out from the foothills of the Appalachians into the plains of Georgia. At the same time, the Army of the Potomac was to press Lee backward and southward from upper Virginia, so that the two leading Confederate armies would be squeezed in a vise between the northern and southern Unionist armies. The idea was to wrap the Unionist armies around the Confederate forces like a great snake of the constrictor type; and hence it was called the Anaconda Policy. It was of this policy that the soldier Sherman wrote later, "The war did not begin professionally until after Gettysburg and Vicksburg."

CHATTANOOGA AND CHICKAMAUGA

Chattanooga vied with Richmond and Vicksburg as the most important Southern city, from a strategic standpoint. The city was guarded by the deep wide Tennessee River on the north, and by high Appalachian ridges on the south. It was the natural fortress at the mouth of the rich state of Georgia, the granary of the Confederacy. Bragg, with an inferior force, had retired southward across the Tennessee into the mountainous northwest of Georgia. He suddenly turned on Rosecrans at Chickamauga Creek, and defeated him soundly.

The battle of Chickamauga, September 19-20, 1863, would have been as complete a Unionist rout as Bull Run, except for the courageous efforts of General George E. Thomas. Rosecrans had blundered, and left a wide gap in

the Northern lines. The Confederates flooded through this gap, driving Rosecrans' right wing off the field in frantic flight, and hurling Rosecrans and his army back on Chattanooga. From here he telegraphed Halleck in Washington that his army had been "overwhelmed by the enemy."

But the left was held by General Thomas, with 25,000 soldiers, and he refused to be defeated. He organized his troops into a horseshoe formation, the convex side toward the Confederates, and withstood the onslaughts of 60,000 troops from three-thirty in the afternoon through the ensuing four hours of desperate fighting. It was the finest defensive fighting of the war so far, and almost made Chickamauga a Unionist victory, after the headlong flight of the commander-in-chief and the greater part of the Unionist army. General Thomas was thereafter called "The Rock of Chickamauga," and was placed by Grant over the Army of the Cumberland, supplanting the defeated Rosecrans. Slowly the sifting process of actual warfare was weeding out the inefficients, and leaving the actual direction in the hands of such men as Thomas and Sherman and Grant.

General Bragg, after his expensive victory at Chickamauga, besieged Chattanooga, where Rosecrans had retired. General Grant, after Vicksburg, had been put in charge of the armies in the West. He placed Thomas over the Army of the Cumberland, and sent the Army of the Tennessee—the new name for the western force that had taken Vicksburg—to join Thomas at Chattanooga, under command of the magnificent fighter William Tecumseh Sherman. By the middle of November, Thomas and Sherman were ready to move against the Confederates under Bragg and Albert Sidney Johnston.

On November 23rd, the Unionists attacked. Grant was present in person, and the Northern armies went wild at sight of his face. On the next day, Hooker seized the top of Lookout Mountain, in the engagement called the "Battle

above the Clouds." On the 25th, the last day of the battle, Thomas was ordered to capture the Confederate rifle pits located at the bottom of Missionary Ridge. They took the pits, and, without waiting for more orders, stormed tumultuously up the precipitous sides of the mountain itself, right through the deadly fire from thirty cannon guarding the path, and reached the top. Here Bragg and his staff were stationed, guarded by his most effective troops. They retreated in disorder. This charge, as dramatic in every way as Pickett's charge at Gettysburg, and far more successful, was under the command of General Phil Sheridan, a young Irishman who had been equally courageous at Perryville and Murfreesboro, and who was to become the leading cavalry commander on the Union side. This was the only battle in which the four greatest Unionist generals, Grant, Sherman, Thomas and Sheridan, were all engaged.

Bragg retired into Georgia to the southeast with a depleted army of 35,000 men, burning his food depots and bridges behind him. Two weeks later, when Congress assembled, the title of lieutenant general of the army, a title which had not been held by any general in the field since the days of George Washington, was revived, on motion of Congressman Washburne of Illinois. The bill was passed on the last day of February, 1864. At once Lincoln summoned Grant to Washington, and formally named him lieutenant general, in command, under the President, of all the armies of the United States. Grant took charge at once of the Army of the Potomac; and placed his most efficient associate, Sherman, over the armies of the West. From a military point of view, the war was won as soon as these two men took charge of operations.

Grant, with the Army of the Potomac, still nominally under command of Meade, the Hero of Gettysburg, was to resume the campaign against Richmond, in which McClellan, Pope, McClellan again, Burnside, and Hooker had all

failed so woefully. Sherman, commanding the Army of the Cumberland under General Thomas, the Army of the Tennessee under General McPherson, and the Army of the Ohio under General Schofield—a combined force of over 100,000 men—was to drive from Chattanooga southeastward to Atlanta, where Lee's friend, General Joseph E. Johnston, had taken the place of the unsuccessful General Braxton Bragg. Both Unionist armies greatly outnumbered the enemy forces. But Grant was entirely unfamiliar with the home Virginia territory which Lee was defending; while Sherman's task was harder, since his base of supplies was all the way back at Louisville, Kentucky, and every mile's advance meant one mile more over which supplies and reinforcements must be transported.

The war had lasted three years already, now. The Unionist forces, in spite of inefficient and dilatory commands in the East, had achieved two of their three original objectives. They had opened the Mississippi to Unionist navigation, and held the entire river, including the key city of New Orleans at the bottom. They had command of Kentucky and Tennessee, although so far there had been no reorganized Unionist state here. Moreover, they had thrown back disastrously the one great Confederate thrust against Northern territory, at the battle of Gettysburg.

But Richmond was still uncaptured, after three years of warfare. Lee's army had not been defeated decisively on its own soil. The Southern Confederate army, now under Johnston, was by no means crushed. The Confederate forces had been split in two by the capture of the Mississippi; but the essential parts of the Confederacy had held off attack for three years, and it was by no means easy to say that it was possible to defeat the Southerners on their own territory. It was this project which Grant and Sherman faced, as the summer of 1864 came on. And there was a presidential election coming in less than half a year, with a growing Demo-

cratic party in the North and a growing feeling that the Lincoln government, though it had won several important military advantages, had failed to rivet these, and should be replaced.

THE WILDERNESS; AND THE MARCH TO THE SEA

On May 4, 1864, Grant crossed the Rapidan River and began to fight his way through that dreadful pathless section in Spottsylvania County, Virginia, called The Wilderness. A year before, Fighting Joe Hooker had been severely defeated in this very neighborhood at the battle of Chancellorsville. Grant's method of warfare was the opposite of strategy: it was merely crushing ahead, no matter the cost in men, relying on the unlimited resources in manpower in the North—confident that sooner or later the Confederates, without reinforcements, must break. He wrote to Halleck in Washington,

I propose to fight it out on this line, if it takes all summer.

He lost 7,000 men in one hour in an attack on Cold Harbor, where Lee was strongly intrenched. His soldiers were moved, due to the inspiration of his presence, almost as Cromwell's troops were stirred in their Puritanic warfare against the king's cavaliers. With religious stoicism, the night before the attack began, they spent the time writing out their names and addresses and pinning them on their uniforms, so that their bodies might be shipped back to their families in the North. Grant wrote, almost twenty years later,

No advantage whatever was gained, to compensate for the heavy loss which we sustained.

Strategists regard Grant's attack from the front at Cold Harbor as a serious error. It was no more an error than his whole campaign, whose object was to lesson Lee that at last he was face to face with a Union commander who con-

tinued to come on and on and on, no matter whether he was repulsed or victorious.

Grant lost 17,500 men in the fights in the dreadful unpathed Wilderness fights. He led the Army of the Potomac down to the James River, to turn the attack on Richmond from the South. During this whole forty days of almost continuous fighting, Grant lost all together 55,000 men, practically the same number as the entire Confederate army facing him. He did not stop, he did not turn back, he kept coming on and on, using reinforcements when his own veterans were wiped out. It could not fail, this campaign, providing the North was willing to pay this enormous blood toll for ultimate victory.

One of the greatest contributions Grant made to Unionist success was picking Sherman to command in the West. Two days after Grant crossed the Rapidan, Sherman left Chattanooga. He forced Johnston back mile after mile, until by the middle of July Atlanta was in sight. The Confederacy grew frantic. Jefferson Davis removed Johnston, and placed Hood in command. But Johnston if anything was the greater fighter, even on the defensive. There was no stopping William T. Sherman. The two armies locked in several minor battles before Atlanta, and in every one Hood was worsted. On September 3, 1864, General Sherman rode triumphantly into Atlanta, the capital of Georgia, the granary of the Confederacy. They were to call him the collector of capitals, before long.

THE REELECTION OF LINCOLN

During the course of the Wilderness battles and the march on Atlanta, the national nominating conventions met, to select presidential standard-bearers for the election of 1864. Secretary Chase wanted the Republican nomination. He permitted a circular to be published, advocating his selection, while still remaining in Lincoln's cabinet. Lincoln,

long-suffering, tolerant and infinitely wise in a world of men serving expediency, smiled patiently and kept Chase in the cabinet.

Chase was extremely able—Lincoln once had said that he was “about one and a half times bigger than any other man I’ve known”; but he was conceited, and pompous, and listened with wide ears to whispers that he was the very man to save the country. As it developed, he stood almost alone in this idea. He announced in February, when it became clear that he could command no support, that he was not a candidate. The convention met on June 8th, five days after the dreadful massacre of 7,000 of Grant’s men at Cold Harbor, and while Sherman was maneuvering for position against Hood before Atlanta. Lincoln was selected as Republican presidential candidate, though without great enthusiasm. Few men had been attacked so during their terms of office: Washington and Jackson perhaps more so than any others besides Lincoln, and such modern presidents as Wilson and Franklin Roosevelt. Chase resigned before the end of the month; and the magnanimous Lincoln named him to succeed old Roger B. Taney, author of the Dred Scott decision, as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. The court was not so important, during the war.

The Democratic party of the North met at Chicago on the 29th of August, after Atlanta had been taken, and while Grant was pounding against Lee and Richmond from the James. They nominated General George B. McClellan, winner of the 1862 victory of Malvern Hill. The platform that was adopted was of the Copperhead variety, advocating peace at once:

After four years of failure to restore the Union by the experiment of war . . . immediate efforts (should) be made for the cessation of hostilities . . . and peace be restored on the basis of the federal union of the states.

The party announced that it was trying to push Lincoln from his throne. Lincoln at one time had no hope of being reelected. The brutal unstrategic campaign of Grant before Richmond was not at all reassuring to the more critical section of public opinion in the North.

The election was won in the field. In August, Admiral Farragut steamed into Mobile harbor, in a daring exploit against armed forts, and took from the Confederacy its last Gulf port. The next month, Sherman captured Atlanta, annexing his first Southern state capital. In October, when the campaign was at its height, Washington was about to be raided by General Jubal A. Early, when the Northern cavalry idol, General Phil Sheridan, rode up the Shenandoah valley twenty miles from Winchester, and intercepted the Confederates in just the nick of time. Better and better news was coming from the magnificent advance of Sherman's army toward the sea. Seward cried out,

Sherman and Farragut have knocked the bottom out of the Chicago platform.

If Sherman had been stopped, or Sheridan had delayed, McClellan would have triumphed, and disunion would probably have become a permanent reality. As it was, Lincoln was reelected by a popular majority of nearly half a million, and by the tremendous electoral college landslide of 212 to 21. The war, thanks to Sherman and Sheridan, was endorsed at the most critical moment by the voters of the nation.

APPOMATTOX AND THE END

After the surrender of Atlanta, General Hood, who had entirely failed to stop Sherman, made a sudden drive to the northwest. He had a double objective—to seek to defeat Thomas, left by Sherman to guard Nashville and Chattanooga, and thus secure eastern Tennessee for the Confederacy; and to turn Sherman northward, and end his

dreadful drive through the very heart of the Confederacy. The Confederacy, since 1861, had been boasting to all of the interior states along the Gulf that they were absolutely immune to Unionist attack. Wait just a little longer, send up reinforcements to the last man, and some gigantic victory in Virginia or around Chattanooga would end the war sharply and decisively, without a single Yankee ever seen in the heart of the Confederacy, except perhaps as a prisoner of war. And now since 1863 Northern troops had had a foothold in northern Alabama, Mobile had fallen, Selma was threatened, raiding Unionists had burned the University at Tuscaloosa, even the library; the other central states were no better off; and Sherman had sliced halfway through them. Unless he could be stopped. . . . And so Hood, with a sinking heart, drove back toward Chattanooga, praying that Sherman would follow.

But Sherman knew Thomas, and knew he could take care of himself. He took the final step, which only a master strategist could have devised, and only a man of superb and efficient courage would have undertaken. He cut himself off entirely from his base of supplies, and commenced his celebrated March to the Sea. His troops made almost twice as many miles a day as other marching forces had made so far. They threw away all unneeded things, and, light armed as if for a sham battle maneuver, they sliced savagely toward the southeast. They had to live off the country they passed through; there was nothing else to live off.

There was three hundred miles of the state of Georgia that had to be traversed so. Sherman was entirely in hostile territory, with belated Confederate armies trying vaguely to catch up with him, and with guerilla resistance almost every foot of the way. When guerillas sniped off his officers and soldiers, he took savage reprisals. His policy was against needless destruction of plantations, fields and towns. But all of Sherman's soldiers could not be counted on to

live up to this policy. Even at that, Sherman himself had determined to make Georgia an "example to rebels": and so railroads were ripped up, public buildings burned, depots and machine shops destroyed, stored bales of cotton destroyed, 10,000 mules and horses captured, and a wide swathe cut through the very heart of the state that it took fifty years to reconstruct.

The South is still bitter concerning the deeds of Sherman's soldiers: private houses torched, women robbed of jewelry and fine attire and silver. Kilpatrick, Sherman's right hand man, lacked the general's sensitivity, and needlessly and coarsely outraged the feelings of the inhabitants wherever possible. There was a motley horde of camp followers surging destructively in the wake of the driving forces, who respected nothing. To Sherman's credit it can be said that he minimized such damage as far as possible. Sherman struck the coast in December, and wired to the reelected President on Christmas Eve,

As a Christmas gift, the city of Savannah, with 150 heavy guns, plenty of ammunition, and about 25,000 bales of cotton.

Grant was still deadlocked before Richmond: but Sherman had reached the sea. Gettysburg showed that the South could be stopped; Vicksburg established that its borders could be limited. But Sherman's March to the Sea showed that it could be conquered: and that it practically was.

Ten days before Sherman took Savannah, Thomas met the desperate charges of Hood's army, and almost annihilated it. If he had failed, Hood might have turned east and interposed his forces between Sherman and his final northerly objective—junction with Grant and with a fresh base of supplies. But now there was no more Confederate resistance west of the Alleghenies, and nothing was left to be conquered but the undefended Carolinas and Virginia.

One final desperate effort was made to settle the war by

diplomacy. On February 3, 1865, in a vessel off Hampton Roads, Vice President Stephens of the Confederacy, with two other commissioners, had a conference with Lincoln and Seward, to discuss peace terms. Lincoln reminded the Confederates that, from the start, he had placed Union first; and that there could be no basis of peace, except a restored Union of all the states. Thus the conference was entirely abortive.

A month later, Grant's Army of the Potomac commenced a final drive against Richmond. Petersburg, south of the city, fell on April 2nd. Jefferson Davis was attending church this day, when word was brought to him that Richmond could be defended no longer. He gathered his records, and retired for Danville before midnight. On April 3rd the Union forces entered the Confederate capital. Lincoln himself rode in the next day, and spoke only words of reconciliation in this moment of long retarded triumph.

Lee, with what was left of his armies, pushed westward toward the Virginia mountains. Grant never let up the pursuit. Sheridan's cavalry half circled him. On April 7th, Grant wrote to Lee:

General—The result of the last week must convince you of the hopelessness of further resistance on the part of the Army of Northern Virginia.

The two generals met in a farmhouse at Appomattox, two days later. They spoke first in friendly fashion of days when they had fought side by side below the Rio Grande. And then Grant wrote out the terms of surrender, as generous as his fine nature, and the nature of his opponent. The Confederate forces were to lay down their arms. But the officers were to be allowed to retain their horses and their side arms, and even the cavalry and artillery privates were to be allowed to keep their horses. Grant pointed out that they would need them for this year's spring plowing: so simply did these two great adversaries conduct themselves. Lee

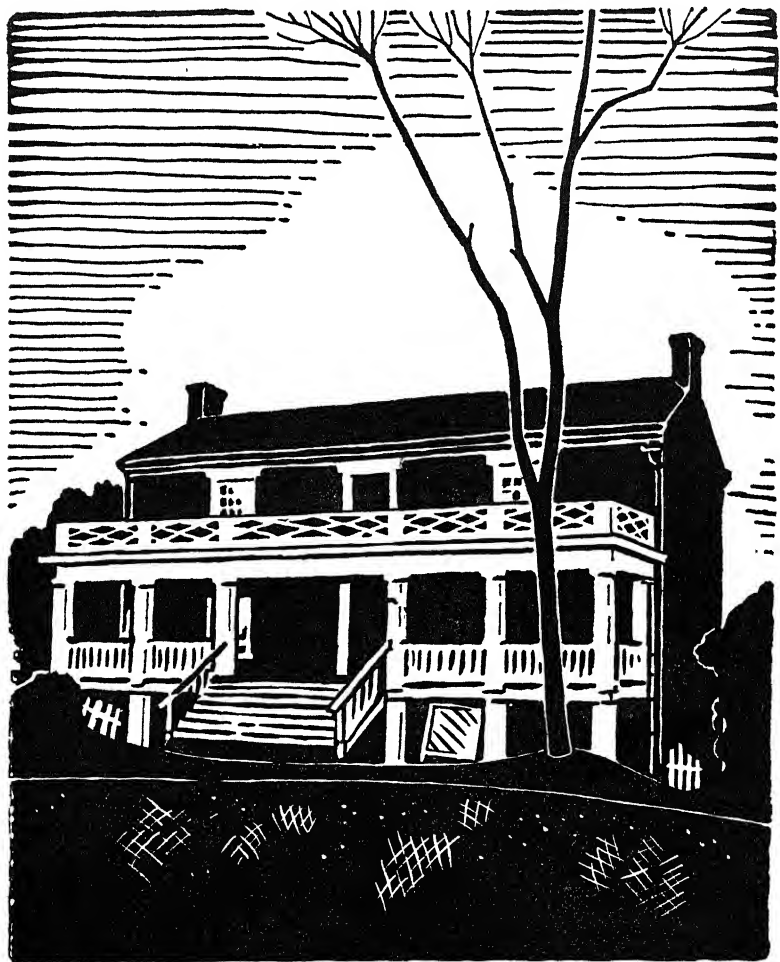
said that his men were a bit hungry. Grant at once had 25,000 rations served out to the defeated Confederates. Lee rode sorrowfully away, after a brief farewell address. For the last five years of his life, he served as president of Washington and Lee University in Virginia, the most beloved man in the South.

Fifteen days later, General Joseph E. Johnston surrendered his army of 37,000 men to Sherman, who had annexed two more state capitals on his northward drive. General Taylor in Alabama and General Kirby Smith in Arkansas, surrendered soon thereafter. A total of 174,000 Confederate troops surrendered, at the end of the war. Jefferson Davis was captured at Irwinville, Georgia, on May 10th, and for two years was incarcerated in Fortress Monroe. When he was released, he retired quietly to Beauvoir, his lovely estate on the Gulf between Biloxi and Gulfport, and lived peacefully there for the final twenty years of his life. His home is now a home for Confederate veterans.

Only dogged resistance had kept the Confederacy alive, that last year. The whole South had lived in actual destitution. Confederate money had become so worthless, that a pound of tea cost \$30, and a barrel of flour \$1,000. No use to raise cotton any more: there was no market for it. Corn was planted in the cotton fields; but there was no way to get the grain to the troops at the front, especially after Sherman had furrowed to the sea and driven remorselessly northward, burning Columbia and other cities on his way, and destroying all the railroad lines. Sherman's men may have been well fed in Georgia; but Lee's veterans around Richmond were reduced to starvation rations of corn pone and sow belly.

On Friday, April 14, 1865, General Robert Anderson raised the Stars and Stripes again over Charleston, which he had had to lower four years before, at Beauregard's

bombardment. The Confederates had gone home to plough, reassured by Grant's magnanimity and the greater magnanimity of Abraham Lincoln. The war was over.



Peace Terms are Made at the McLean House

PART V
THE GROWTH OF AMERICA

CHAPTER XXVI

RULING THE CONQUERED SOUTH

THE ASSASSINATION OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN

ON THE evening of Good Friday, April 14, 1865, President Lincoln sought rest from the harassed days of the war by attending Ford's Theatre, in Washington, with his wife and two guests. The greatest theatrical family of the time was the Booths, the three sons of Junius Brutus Booth, Junius Brutus, Edwin, and John Wilkes. Born in Maryland, they had grown up in some strange obsession that they were dedicated to opposing tyranny, as the names of two of them indicated. They were all eccentric. And now one of them struck a harsher blow at the South than the combined armies of the North had been able to. John Wilkes Booth, his mind preyed on by the collapse of Southern hopes, slipped into the back of the President's box, pistol in hand, and shot the President in the back of the head. Melodramatically the actor sprang from the President's box to the stage, his foot entangled in a flag that decorated the box, which threw him heavily to the stage, and is said to have broken his leg. He escaped from the rear of the building, was pursued, and twelve days later he was shot in a barn where he was concealed. There had been a plot to kill other leading Republicans, the same night. Seward was stabbed severely, and Grant barely escaped assassination.

The wounded President was borne to a house across the street, and lingered alive until 8 o'clock the next morning, when he quietly breathed his last. With his death died the

last chance of the South for reconciliation and an equitable return into the Union. The South was naturally blamed for the dreadful deed, and soon enough paid the penalty for what it would have fought to prevent. Assassination always tends to exalt a martyred man. Lincoln needed no exaltation. Take him as a whole, he was the least selfish, wisest and most devoted American we have known. He blundered less than the men of his age or ages before or since. He kept his head level, faced with the harshest task any American ever faced: to reunite a nation apparently hopelessly divided, and, much of the time, struggling bloodily. He achieved his task entirely; and, at the very moment when victory had been won, the bullet of a half-deranged fanatic cut short his life, when it was needed most of all by his war-torn countrymen. As his end came, Stanton, Secretary of War, pronounced the martyr's eulogy: "Now he belongs to the ages."

THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION

At the beginning of the Civil War, the North insisted that it was in the war to preserve the Union, and not to end slavery. Lincoln repeatedly announced that slavery was a moral, social and political evil. He announced as firmly that, under the Constitution, he had no right to interfere with the institution in any state in which it was legal; and that Congress had no more right than he, in this regard. The day after the retreat at Bull Run, both Senate and House passed a joint resolution declaring:

This war is not waged . . . in any spirit of oppression, or for any purpose of conquest or subjugation, or of overthrowing or interfering with the rights or established institutions of those states (the ones which had seceded), but to defend and maintain the supremacy of the Constitution.

This mention of the Constitution must be understood as

referring to the right of secession exclusively, which Congress in this resolution implicitly denied. On the other hand, the South did not announce that it was fighting to perpetuate the institution of slavery and extend it on the North American continent. From far earlier times, leading Southerners had denounced that institution quite as strongly as Northerners had. Constantly the South argued that slavery was sanctioned and in fact commanded by the Bible, and was a divinely-appointed institution especially beneficial to the Negroes. But there was too much dissent on this subject, to make it advisable to use slavery as any sort of a battle-cry to rouse united support at home, or support abroad. The rest of the civilized world had ended or was ending the institution: in the light of today, we may safely say that it was already condemned by the consciences of civilized men the world over. The South sensed this, even though it could never admit it, as long as its whole social structure was based upon slavery: and so it picked for a rallying cry the abstract matter of state's rights, especially as it concerned the right of a state and its citizens to be protected in property rights at home or anywhere; and the right to withdraw from the federal union, if such rights were not protected.

The development of actual warfare slowly altered the positions of both sides to the conflict. The South did not adopt the policy of enlisting Negro troops; but there were a thousand useful wartime functions which they did engage in, from building fortifications and transporting provisions and supplies to labor back of the lines in feeding, clothing and arming the Confederate troops. The South used the Negro as a property extremely valuable in wartime; there was nothing for the North to do, in response to this, but to recognize the Negro as a property which could be legally confiscated.

As early as August, 1861, less than a month after Bull

Run, Congress began the enactment of a series of acts declaring that Negroes employed as laborers on fortifications or trenches, or in the transportation of ammunition or supplies, should be at once legally freed; that runaway slaves owned by men bearing arms against the Union should not be returned, after they had once reached the Union lines; and that all slaves in localities conquered by Union armies should be freed. The penalty of armed resistance to the Union was thus fixed early at the loss of slaves, by the alteration of the slaves into freemen.

General Fremont, commanding the Department of the West, went far beyond this, and on August 31, 1861, announced that all slaves owned by Missouri rebels were at once liberated. President Lincoln directed him to revoke this order, insofar as it went beyond the Confiscation Act. Nine months later General Hunter, of the Department of the South, passed a similar regulation concerning the slaves in South Carolina, Georgia and Florida. Again Lincoln overruled this order, stating that the liberation of slaves in any state must be reserved to the President, as commander-in-chief of army and navy.

Lincoln was farsighted in this policy, for all that it made him very unpopular with Northern abolitionist sentiment. One of the important objectives to achieve was to win the border states of Maryland, Kentucky, Missouri, and perhaps Tennessee, who were still wavering, and might at any time join the South, or decide conclusively to remain in the Union—except for Tennessee, which was in the Confederacy, but with a strong pro-Union sentiment, especially in the eastern sections. Moreover, Lincoln saw how valuable it would be to the Northern cause to have these states take the lead in a peaceful emancipation; for this would inspire the states further south to follow their lead, and would thereby remove the chief obstacle to restoring the Union.

In a special message to Congress, March 6, 1862, Lin-

coln recommended that a law be passed, pledging the national government to cooperate with any state in passing an emancipation law, providing for equitable compensation to the owners of the liberated slaves. Lincoln specifically invited the Congressmen of the border states to confer on this matter. There was no enthusiasm regarding this exceptionally fair proposal, from Congress or the states most concerned. There were some 430,000 slaves in the three border states mentioned and Delaware, worth \$400 each on the average, or a total of \$175,000,000. If the step had shortened the war by three months, it would have meant a saving of money to the government. It was a keen disappointment to Lincoln that he could get no support for this just and farsighted plan.

Action against the extension of slavery did not cease. The month of Bull Run, slavery was abolished in the District of Columbia with \$300 per slave paid to the owners as compensation. In June, slavery was prohibited in all the territories of the United States then held, or to be thereafter acquired. Since the failure of his proposal of compensated emancipation in the border states, the pressure had been growing on him to free the slaves throughout the country by a military order. Horace Greeley wrote an editorial in the Republican New York *Tribune* in August, 1862, called "The Prayer of Twenty Millions," scolding the President for his "mistaken deference to rebel slavery". Lincoln replied in a far more famous letter, in which he said that the preservation of the Union was far more important than the termination of slavery.

If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it. . . . What I do about slavery and the colored race, I do because I believe it helps to save the Union.

American ministers abroad wrote the President that the

United States could not expect the support of foreign nations, if it was not made clear that this war was not for the purpose of conquering the South, but was intended to end slavery.

On July 22, 1862, Lincoln announced to his cabinet that he had determined, on the ensuing January 1st, to declare all slaves free, by military order; and that he intended to announce that purpose to the public now, to reassure them that emancipation was a part of the government program. The cabinet approved of the plan. But Seward pointed out that McClellan had just been removed from command in the East, and that the new generals Halleck and Pope were largely untried; would it not be better to wait until there was a distinct Union victory, so that this announcement would not sound like a policy of despair. Lincoln followed this suggestion, and postponed announcing his intention.

It did not seem an opportune time to make the announcement, when Pope was compelled to retreat after second Bull Run. But then Lee invaded Maryland, and McClellan, restored to command, repulsed him decisively at Antietam, on September 16th. Four days later, Lincoln announced his intended emancipation on the New Year's Day following; and on the 1st of January he issued the famous proclamation freeing all slaves in territory then in rebellion against the United States government. By this proclamation, 3,500,000 slaves held within the Confederate States were liberated at a stroke of the pen. The Emancipation Proclamation is one of the landmarks of universal history, in man's drive toward an ever-widening freedom for all men.

This proclamation was, however, only a war measure. No act of the President, as commander-in-chief of army and navy, nor indeed any act of Congress, could alter the constitutions of states which legally recognized slavery. The Constitution implicitly accepted the legality of slavery in states where it existed. Either the action of these states, or an

amendment to the Constitution, was needed to wipe the institution out. The remedy by amendment to the state constitutions was clearly impracticable, with the states at war with the United States. Accordingly, on January 31, 1865, with Sherman marching triumphantly northward and Grant pressing with more and more punishing force against the armies of Lee, the House and the Senate passed the thirteenth amendment to the Constitution, providing that—

Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

Congress adjourned jubilantly after passing the amendment, in honor of the momentous occasion—"the immortal and sublime event," to use the words of the resolution. This amendment was stretched when we acquired the Philippine Islands in 1898, since slavery existed on some of the islands; conditions there have been largely remedied in the third of a century since that time.

One of the Crittenden compromise non-amendable amendments to the Constitution had actually been passed, on February 28, 1861, providing that Congress should never have the power to interfere with slavery in states in which it was legal. But war had commenced, before there had been time for ratification by the necessary number of states. The thirteenth amendment was promptly ratified by the necessary three-fourths of the states, including eight states which had been in the Confederacy. On December 18, 1865, it was announced by the Secretary of State as a part of the Constitution, the supreme law of the land. And thus the first fruits of the war included both a preservation of the Union and the complete elimination of human slavery.

ANDREW JOHNSON AND RECONSTRUCTION

A few hours after the death of Lincoln, Andrew Johnson of Tennessee took the oath of office, and became President of the United States. Johnson was a poor white, born in North Carolina, who had started life as a tailor, in which capacity he migrated to East Tennessee. Throughout his political career, he opposed the aristocratic Southerners, and was the champion of the poorer and laboring classes. He opposed Congressional apportionment based on counting any Negro slaves; and as Congressman, governor and Senator he consistently upheld the rights of the poorer whites, and opposed the large plantation owners. Alone of the Tennessee delegation, in 1861, he refused to secede with his state. He suffered during the war for his loyalty to the Union, and was named military governor of his state by Lincoln, when it had been captured from the Confederates. He was put on the ticket with Lincoln in 1864 to overcome the 1860 reproach that the ticket was sectional; to conciliate the border states and if possible cause them to ally themselves more firmly with the Union; and to attract such war Democrats as he could to the support of the Republican ticket: for Johnson, in 1860, had voted for extremist pro-Southern Democrat Breckinridge, although he did not regard the election of Lincoln as cause for secession.

Johnson was honest, patriotic and loyal, as Lincoln was; but there the resemblance ceases. He was bitter against well-born Southerners, he was crude in manners and violent in disposition, he was obstinate in pursuing his own course and vindictive when opposed. General expectation was that he would at once join with the party in favor of visiting the most extreme punishment on the South, which meant primarily the aristocratic South, since the poor white class had had small importance before 1861. It may have been the influence of Seward that swayed him, or an honest af-

fection for his dead chieftain. But he announced that he would do his best to carry out the Reconstruction policies of the martyred Lincoln, and turned at once to doing so.

There was room for sincere argument as to what was the exact status of the Southern states, now by force retained in the Union. Were they still states of the Union, with all the rights of states, in spite of their unsuccessful effort to terminate the relationship that bound them to their sister states? Lincoln held so. Or had their rebellion terminated all their rights as states, making them territories of the United States, which the national government could provide governments for, under the Constitution? There were many who supported this point of view. There was a more bitter group who held that they were merely conquered territory, who had lost their right to be considered even as a part of the country, and hence must submit to whatever penalties the North decided to impose upon them.

From the day when the flag was fired on at Fort Sumter, Lincoln had never deviated from his interpretation of the facts: and that was, that the states had never been out of the Union at all. Certain factions or "combinations of individuals" in the states had illegally taken control and resisted the national authority—combinations too powerful to be dealt with but by the army and the navy. This was straining a point, of course, since the complete state governments had withdrawn, and in many states the entire people behind them. But this attitude had caused Lincoln to encourage every manifestation of loyalty in any of the seceded states as an encouragement to his conception of the situation. In December, 1863, he had announced that as soon as 10 percent of the 1860 voters in any state formed a loyal government and accepted Congressional legislation and presidential proclamations on the matter of slavery, he would recognize that government as the one legal government of the state. Tennessee, Arkansas and Louisiana had

actually set up such governments. Congress admitted the two Louisiana representatives from one of these Lincoln governments, and in 1864 passed the Wade-Davis Act, giving the terms on which the seceded states might secure readmittance. But Lincoln felt that this decision was too hasty, and let the legislation die by the use of the pocket veto, to the disgust of its advocates.

This was how matters stood, when Lincoln was assassinated, and the far lesser Andrew Johnson took his office. Congress was not in session in the summer and autumn of 1865. The war was over, and the seceded states were anxious to be readmitted. And so Johnson proceeded to apply the Lincoln plan, as he understood it, to the Southern states. He named military governors over North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi and Texas. He had conventions called in these states, which formally abrogated the secession ordinances, and adopted new constitutions. The necessary state officers were elected, and legislatures chosen. Except in the case of South Carolina, these Johnson legislatures repudiated debts contracted by the seceding states during the war; and, except in the case of Mississippi, they ratified the 13th Amendment to the Constitution.

Congress assembled in December, 1865, to find Senators and Representatives from all of the Southern states except Florida and Texas in Washington, asking for admission. And Congress was thoroughly displeased with the whole business. It held that Johnson had no right to settle matters of such importance by a mere exercise of a presidential right of pardon for rebels. It was by no means of the opinion that Lincoln's view that the states had never seceded was correct or was advisable. It was not a pro-Johnson Congress, and it saw here a splendid opportunity to teach a lesson to the self-made poor white tailor from Tennessee who occupied the White House.

CONGRESSIONAL RECONSTRUCTION

The conduct of the Johnson governments, even more than the unpopular character of Johnson himself, moved the radicals in Congress to a determination to take Reconstruction into their own hands. These governments had accepted the 13th Amendment, freeing the Negro slaves; but their subsequent actions showed that this was no enthusiastic conversion. They promptly passed the so-called "Black Codes", which went as far as they could legally go in negating this emancipation amendment. They had two main methods of circumventing emancipation:

Vagrancy laws, imposing a fine on homeless Negroes wandering around; and permitting outsiders to pay the fine and have the Negro "work out" his fine and the court costs.

Apprentice laws, which assigned young Negroes to "guardians," often their previous owners, for whom they were required to work without pay, in return for their food, bed, and clothing.

These evinced a determination to continue slavery, as far as was possible. Vagrancy laws still exist in certain Southern states, and at times their operation amounts to a sort of peonage, if not actual slavery.

The South argued that these laws were necessary, to protect the whites against possible deeds of violence at the hands of a large wandering group of Negroes. Nearly 4,000,000 slaves had been freed overnight. Very few of these were equipped to meet the rudimentary responsibilities of citizenship. They were credulous enough to believe the wild promises of "carpetbaggers" (Northern adventurers who came South to make their fortune in the distracted period, having all their worldly goods in the cheap valise covered with carpeting called a carpetbag), "scalawags" or Southerners converted to working with the carpet-

baggers, and especially the officials of the Freedmen's bureaus, appointed to look after the interests of the freed slaves. The Negroes were told, and believed, that the plantations of their former owners were to be divided up, big house and all, among the Negroes, as Christmas and New Year's gifts; and that every Negro was to be started off in life with "forty acres and a mule."

The "Black Codes" were bad enough; but another act of the Southern states offended the North even more. When the South came to elect its Senators and Representatives in 1865, it had but one class of men it would trust to turn to, and that was the leading secessionists. The man who had not fought for the Confederacy at the front or in a governmental capacity was regarded as a scalawag, a renegade and a traitor. For years after Reconstruction a Southern Democrat would not even mingle socially with a Southern Republican. The spirit has not entirely died out yet. And now these very Northerners who had been engaged for four years in a life and death struggle to preserve the Union, were asked by the Southern states to recognize, on terms of civic and official equality, Confederate cabinet members, Congressmen and brigadier generals. Georgia sent Alexander H. Stephens, Vice President of the Confederacy, as one of its Senators to Washington. It looked like defiance, to the North. Almost without exception these men were all lifelong Democrats, still as bitterly opposed to the black Republicans as they had been in 1860. The Republicans were faced with a difficult situation. If they admitted these unregenerate Southerners, and permitted them to combine with Northern "Copperhead" Democrats who had opposed the war all along, it was quite possible that the control would pass at once from the Republicans to the Democratic coalition. The Republicans were in the saddle; they would have been less than human if they had not exerted their ingenuity to make sure that they continued to

rule, at least for a time, until they made sure that the sacrifices of the war had not been in vain. The Republican orators shouted from end to end of the land that the party which had saved the Union must rule it. There was a lot to be said for the idea, at least until the fruits of victory had been made sure.

Congress exercised its ingenuity. Instead of admitting the Southerners without question, it appointed a committee of fifteen, to report on the conditions in the states lately seceded, and to recommend on just what terms they might be readmitted to their full privileges in the Union. Johnson did not take opposition genteelly. He began to hector and badger the members of Congress, as if he held the whiphand over them. On Washington's Birthday, 1866, he made a speech from the White House balcony, in which he picked out Sumner, Phillips, and Stevens by name, in a wild and violent denunciation of them. Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania at this time was chairman of the House Committee on Appropriations, the leader of the radical Republicans, and the bitterest foe of the South in Congress. He led all the others in his determination to punish the states that had seceded, and he was strong enough to make the Congressional majority do his bidding as no other Congressman has ever succeeded in doing. President Johnson, with supreme ill taste, lashed out vitriolically against them, accusing them of seeking to destroy the rights of the Southern states, of trying to steal the President's constitutional powers, and even of encouraging his assassination. This was too soon after 1865 for any such loose talk; Johnson was not forgiven for it.

Soon thereafter, Congress passed several laws designed to protect the Negro against the "Black Codes." One of these, the Freedman's Bureau Act, strengthened those bureaus created by Congress the year before in the War Department, whose duties it was to guard the freed Negroes, se-

cure fair labor contracts for them, see that they were not wronged in disputes, see that they built their own homes, and the like; the other, the Civil Rights Law, was designed to guard the property, freedom of movement, freedom of occupation, and life of the freed slaves. Arrogantly Johnson vetoed both bills. But Stevens gathered enough strength in Congress to pass both bills in Congress over the President's vetoes—that is, a two-thirds vote in each house. It was becoming increasingly clearer that the South had become merely a bone of contention between the President and Congress, and this was no happy augury for a return of normal conditions in that war-seared section.

THE SOUTH STRIKES BACK

The report of the Congressional committee of fifteen was given on April 30, 1866. After stating conditions in the South, it asked for the passage of a 14th Amendment to the Constitution, which guaranteed full protection in civil rights to the

citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside, . . . all persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof.

Political rights included voting and office holding; civil rights meant the full protection of the government in such rights as the right to sue and be sued, to own property, make contracts, and the like—the rights women possessed, in the United States, up to the grant of political rights to them by the 19th Amendment to the Constitution. The Dred Scott decision had denied civil rights to the Negro; the 14th Amendment overruled this decision.

The 14th Amendment did not stop with this mere grant of civil rights to the colored race. It cut down the representation in Congress of any state which refused to let the Negro vote—an eminently fair proceeding, reversing the

compromise of 1789 during the making of the Constitution; and proceeded to disqualify the leaders of the Confederacy from holding either national or state office, by shutting the door of national or state office-holding against any person who has previously taken an oath to support the Constitution of the United States as a national or state officeholder,

shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid and comfort to the enemies thereof.

Theoretically this was eminently fair. As a practical matter, it disqualified practically all of the trusted leaders of the South, and insured their exclusion thereafter from office-holding, unless Congress, by a two-thirds vote of the members of each House, remove this disability. This branded the Southern leaders permanently as criminals who were being punished for their rebellion, by depriving them of political rights at the same time that it gave civil rights to the whole Negro race.

June 13, 1866, Congress passed the 14th Amendment in this form. It was sent to the states for ratification. Tennessee ratified it the next month. The other Southern states, furious at the disqualifying clause, refused to ratify. It thus failed as an amendment, lacking the required votes of three-fourths of the states of the Union.

On March 2, 1867, Congress proceeded to punish the South for this refusal to ratify. It passed a Reconstruction Act which divided the territory of the ten refusing states into five huge military districts, with a Unionist major general put over each district. At one stroke the Johnson governments of 1865 were removed, and a military governor backed by national troops took their places. Altogether there were almost 20,000 troops quartered on the South, 1,000 at New Orleans and Richmond, half as many or less at the other places. The registering of voters and the actual

voting took place under the "protection" of these troops. The Reconstruction Act elevated the freed slaves to participation both in making new state constitutions and in the conduct of the new state governments, while at the same time the leading Southerners, who had been the slaveowners, were in large measure disqualified by the third section of the still unadopted 14th Amendment. The military governors were made responsible to Grant, and not to the President, as a further slap at him.

The Negroes proceeded to enroll under the Reconstruction Act of 1867. They outnumbered the whites in South Carolina, Alabama, Florida, Louisiana, and Mississippi. With a few brilliant exceptions, these Negroes were just one step above mere field hands incapable of reading or writing, and were hardly qualified to direct the destinies of a civilized state. Negroes were allowed to vote at this time in only six Northern states, where their vote was a very inconsiderable minority; and in these states they were far more qualified to vote than in the South. Ohio, in the same 1867, rejected Negro suffrage by over 50,000 majority. Lincoln had proposed to the wartime military governor of Louisiana that the right to vote might be given to the most capable Negroes, and the ones who had fought in the Union armies; Johnson had advised that Mississippi in 1865 give the vote to Negroes possessing \$250 in property. But neither had proposed the wholesale bestowal of the ballot on all the Negroes, qualified or not; and this Congress had done, at the point of the bayonet.

With these electors, and the whites largely disqualified, the Southern governments proceeded to organize and function. It is no wonder that extravagance, fraud and incompetence beyond belief marked their activities. They did nothing to alleviate the social ills of the South, caused by the war; they did not comprehend what these were, and would not have cared if they did. They voted enormous

salaries to themselves, spent money broadcast for railroads, canals, and public buildings and works, with an amount of graft that is beyond belief. One South Carolina legislature had 98 colored legislators to 57 white ones. Less than half of the legislature were not taxpayers at all. This did not restrain their expenditure of public funds. Between 1868 and 1872 the legislature increased the state debt to \$18,000,000, or 260 percent. In one year \$200,000 was expended to furnish the Capitol with plate-glass mirrors, lounges, desks, armchairs, brass spittoons, and a free bar for the use of Negro and scalawag legislators. It was the ideal time to enjoy the legislative prerogatives of office.

Minnesota, Kansas and Michigan, in the North, in this same period rejected Negro suffrage by large majorities. The carpetbaggers were well ensconced in their power in the South. Four of the 7 governors, 10 of the 14 Senators, 20 of the 35 representatives elected were carpetbaggers. The Senate of South Carolina consisted of 21 blacks to 10 whites. In Alabama, all the members of the legislature together paid less than \$100 in taxes. A Negro house-painter was elevated to be Lieutenant Governor of Louisiana; a mulatto printer was Secretary of State of Mississippi. It was unusual to find a Negro office-holder who could read, write and figure. It may well be that house-painters and printers would be an improvement upon most public officials, but at least these should be selected voluntarily, and not at the point of a bayonet. [Gleefully, with the ratifications of these governments, the 14th Amendment became part of the organized law of the land in 1868; also the 15th Amendment, giving the vote of the Negroes, in 1870.] With such electors, Alabama, Arkansas, North Carolina, South Carolina and Florida went Republican in 1868. Down to 1928, no Republican ever after 1876 carried one of the 10 states under Congressional military governors; and then only on an irrelevant religious issue. The "Solid South" is

the result of Congressional Reconstruction, and it has by no means ceased to be a fact.

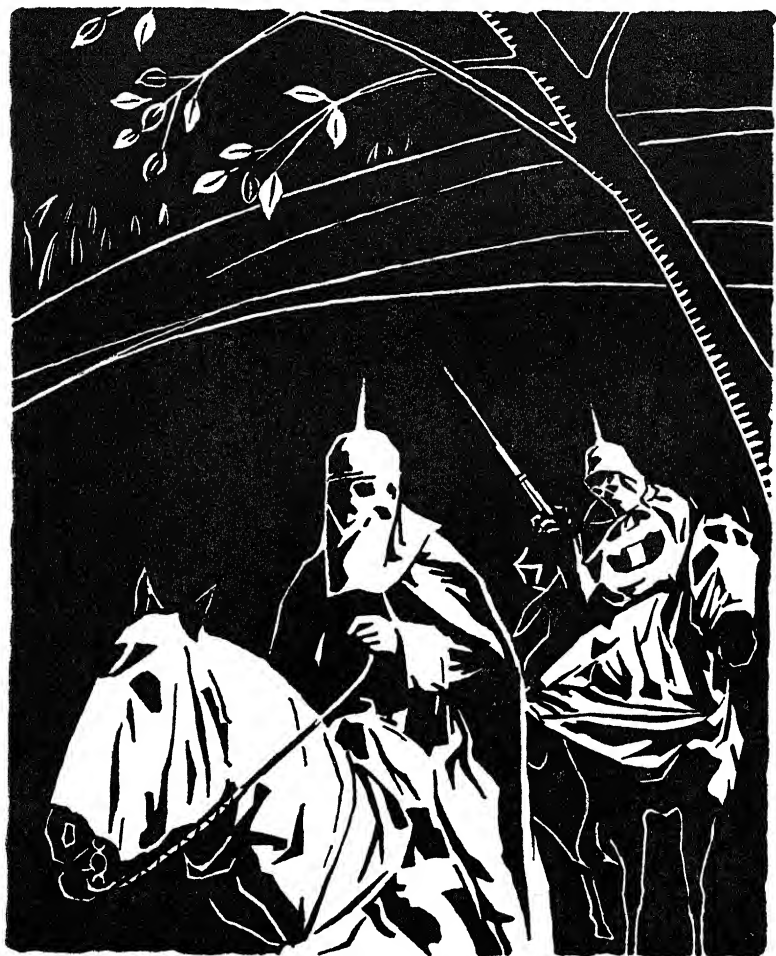
Most astonishing of all, the Union survived without marked bloodshed, in spite of such local conditions. A law could not wipe out the superior culture and wealth of the ruling classes in the South, nor could any acceptable law for long exclude them from control. They could not win by warfare, or by orderly political methods; they found a third method, wholly outside of the law, that was quite as efficacious. They began to organize into secret societies, Knights of the White Camelia, White Leagues, Rifle Clubs, Councils of Safety, Boys of '76, and most of all the Ku Klux Klan (from the Greek word *kuklos*, a circle) organized in Pulaski, Tennessee, in 1866. These groups utilized the superstitious nature of the Negro, and played upon it to the fullest. The Negroes, for all their acceptance of the white slaveowner's Christianity, still retained a large amount of their native religion brought over from Africa,—the miscellaneous faiths lumped together usually as voodooism. In Haiti today, after a century and a quarter of dominance, this religion and Christianity are still thoroughly intermixed; it was the same in the South. The Negroes had been granted these amazing rights, liberty, civil rights, the right to vote and hold office, to attend meetings and run the politics of their state or locality. They were less inclined to believe in their good fortune, when a troop of horsemen, robed in white sheets, badged with skull and crossbones, appeared suddenly at the meeting place, announcing that they were sent to escort the Negroes to the devil their master. Or a solitary rider, so robed, would stop at midnight at a Negro's cabin, call for a drink of water, and pour several pailfuls down his neck into a rubber bag concealed under his disguise, remarking that he had not had a drink since he dug his way up from hell at the battle-

ground of Shiloh. There was no enthusiasm in Negro participation in politics, when the Klan was on the ride.

The Klan's methods grew sterner, as the menace of black domination became more of a reality. It absorbed the other organizations into an Invisible Empire, with an elaborate organization of Grand Genii, Dragons, Hydras, Furies, Goblins, Nighthawks, and the like as its officials, reaching from the Grand Wizard of the Empire clear down to the local Cyclops. The activities commenced with ferocious warnings to carpetbaggers and scalawags to leave the South at once. They did not stop here. In 1871 a Congressional committee investigated its activities, and of course did not err on the side of underestimating the alleged atrocities committed by the Klan. But the actual roll was impressive. Negroes were tortured, Negroes and white interlopers were driven away, with mutilations and even murders as one of the methods of illegal persuasion. It was a direct remedy, called forth by an emergency. Right or wrong, it worked. Many of the carpetbaggers were as panic-stricken as the Negroes. They called for more troops, and sooner or later the restive Southern whites resented this, and expressed their resentment in night and day battles, as in the street fighting in New Orleans and in the trenches outside Vicksburg.

It must not be imagined that the motive of the backers of Reconstruction was entirely vindictive or unprogressive. There were many Northern idealists who believed that the best way to teach civic responsibility to the Negroes was to give them the vote, and let them learn through its usage. But the general spirit was that the South should be punished for its crime of secession, and this was entirely human and understandable. Only, it resulted in keeping the Negro in a permanent subordinate position even down to the present, in the South. The South has long forgiven the North for its defeat of 1865, if indeed it ever cherished resent-

ment for defeat on a fair field of battle; but there is still a bitterness engendered by the "crime of Reconstruction," which is as costly to national harmony as it is to the continued progress of the South.



The Klan Rides

CHAPTER XXVII

GRANT AS PRESIDENT

THE ELECTION OF GRANT

THE radical Republican Congressmen felt that somehow they were entitled to credit for winning the war; and that certainly they had succeeded quite well, so far, in ruling the country, especially the defeated South. When Johnson not only opposed them but derided them, in his Washington's Birthday speech, their answer was swift and devastating: they overrode his vetoes on the Reconstruction Acts; and even deprived him of his constitutional control of the army and navy, by directing the military governors over the ten Southern states to report to General Grant, rather than to the President.

Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War under Lincoln, had always been a sort of stormy petrel of politics. He was an Ohio Democrat, summoned by Buchanan to become Attorney-General in 1860; he had often denounced Lincoln violently, and did not give up the right of criticism when Lincoln invited him to take the war portfolio. He bickered with Lincoln and many of the generals; but he made an aggressive and efficient Secretary of War, on the whole; his peaceful disbanding of 800,000 soldiers at the end of the war being one of his outstanding accomplishments. He distrusted Andrew Johnson thoroughly, almost as thoroughly as both aristocratic Southerners and radical Republicans distrusted him; and, held on with the rest of the Lincoln cabinet by Johnson, he at once allied himself with John-

son's enemies, and did all that he could to thwart the will of the President.

It became clear that Johnson intended to remove Stanton, and appoint someone who would act with him, as was his right. The shrewd radical Republicans at once laid a trap for the President, by passing, March 2, 1867, the Tenure of Office Act. This provided that a President could not remove officers of the government without the consent of the Senate; and practically made the tenure of office of cabinet officers coextensive with the tenure of the President who appointed them. Members of the cabinet were merely subordinate executives, carrying out the President's will; the effect of this act was to cripple him beyond remedy, in such an emergency as had happened in 1841, when, on the death of President Harrison, a Whig, Tyler, a Democrat, became President, with a cabinet full of Whigs. A President had always had the right of removing his cabinet members at his own discretion; this took from him a right that Presidents had exercised since the foundation of the United States.

President Johnson promptly violated the act, as the radical Republicans were sure he would. He asked Stanton to resign. Stanton had not approved of the Tenure of Office Act; but, once it was passed, he did as the Congressional leaders desired, and refused to resign. Johnson suspended him from office August 12, 1867, and named General Grant to succeed him. The Senate refused to concur in the suspension; and Grant, who had taken over the duties of the office, left it, and Stanton returned to his desk. February 21, 1868, Johnson named General Lorenzo Thomas Secretary of War, and ordered Stanton to vacate. Stanton asked military aid from General Grant, who placed General Carr in charge of the war department building. Congress at once proceeded to impeach the President, three days later. The next month the impeachment proceedings

were tried before the Senate of the United States, under the presidency of Chief Justice Chase, an ex-member of the Lincoln cabinet.

The impeachment proceedings failed, by the narrow margin of one vote,—a two-thirds majority being necessary to convict. The Democratic Senators all voted with the President, and so did seven of the less bitter Republicans. Stanton resigned to return to the practice of law, leaving Johnson to finish out the final nine and a half months of his term openly despised and derided by the Congressional leaders.

General Grant had never been in politics. The only vote he had ever cast for a presidential candidate was for the Democrat Buchanan in 1856. As late as the beginning of 1868, leading Democrats hoped to run him as their presidential candidate. His conflict with Johnson over the Tenure of Office Act threw him into the arms of the Republicans, who unanimously nominated him in the Chicago convention on the first ballot, only four days after the impeachment of Johnson had failed. The Democrats put up their most available man, Governor Horatio Seymour of New York. Grant received 214 electoral votes to 80 for the Democratic candidate.

GRANT'S ADMINISTRATION

Grant had been one of the four greatest military leaders developed by the Union forces during the Civil War, a dogged and courageous soldier who did not lose battles. He was not at home in a political position. He was a plain man, without guile; he had no ability to penetrate through the duplicity of others. He had been a poor man all his life, and had developed that blind respect and admiration for mere wealth which often goes with inability to make wealth for oneself. He regarded any man of millions as a sort of

human demigod, whose opinion on any subject must be listened to as the final word.

He had been picked as a sort of figurehead by the Republicans in Congress, who felt sure that they could control his every action. And so it developed. He had been a generous, chivalrous and courteous conqueror of Lee and the South; as President, his Congressional associates in Washington developed him into a vindictive partisan. He had to make his choice between fair dealing with the conquered Southerners, or accepting the unfair Negro governments which the Congressional Reconstruction had placed, by the threat of the bayonet, over the conquered territory. He upheld the acts of the Reconstruction governments without criticism; and was always ready to furnish federal troops to buttress up the power of the carpetbaggers and scalawags in the South, since they were needed to furnish from the South sufficient Republican votes to elect Congressmen and presidential electors from that section.

The tone of public morality was not high during Grant's eight years of office. He was the soul of honesty himself, but the honest man who lacks comprehension of others can be more harmful to the country than the thoroughly dishonest and selfish politician. The Republicans, intoxicated with power, determined to keep a constant flow of Republican officeholders in the South, where the sentiment was entirely Democratic, except among the Negroes and the ensconced outsiders. In February, 1871, the first of the Force Bills was passed, establishing federal supervision over elections for the House of Representatives—a measure of more than doubtful constitutionality, since the Constitution specifically provided for the election of Representative "by the people of the several States," with no hint of federal control; and with a definite reservation to the states of all powers not explicitly granted to the national government. During the years 1870-1878, the national govern-

ment spent from \$60,000 to \$100,000 during each Congressional election. The presidential election of 1876 cost the national government \$275,000, with 7,000 deputy marshals of the national government in charge of elections in the Southern states. The result of this, of course, was the "Solid South".

The tense days of the Civil War and the Reconstruction that followed were magnificent times for the display of high-minded patriotism; but they were also an unexampled opportunity for the unscrupulous and the dishonest to build up immense fortunes, by farsighted selfish shrewdness, and even by outright fraud and corruption. Throughout the country many state governments and city administrations fell into the hands of corrupt "rings" of politicians, who dispensed public property and prerogatives for a price. This was the era of the "Tweed Ring" in New York City, in which "Boss" Tweed and his cohorts made away with millions of dollars, before final exposure, causing the jailing of the leader in 1878. The Secretary of War, Belknap, resigned, rather than face impeachment on a charge of sharing in graft concerning the dishonest management of army posts throughout the far West. Babcock, the President's private secretary, was connected with frauds depriving the government of its excise tax on whiskey. Corrupt post-office officials colluded with western stagecoach lines, making dishonest reports of the amounts of business they were carrying, and so securing enormous appropriations from Congress for the "pet" mail routes or "star" mail routes. Some of these routes, carrying less than a dozen letters a week, actually cost the government thousands of dollars a year. Since there was no rigid standard of governmental honesty observable anywhere, except in the harassed man in the White House, Congressmen openly solicited and accepted valuable railroad stock, as a "present" from lobbyists who wanted legislation favorable to

their railroads. There was no department of the social and economic structure that was not simply ridden with widespread graft. And Grant continued to believe implicitly in the word of the millionaires, who were all the time fattening their own bank accounts, that everything was all right, and only a few grouches were complaining.

Even during Grant's first term, a group within the Republican party itself sought to purify the party of some of its most obvious abuses. Outstanding among these was Carl Schurz, a German revolutionary who came to America after the abortive European outbreaks of 1848. He became a prominent Republican at the time of the formation of the party; was sent by Lincoln as minister to Spain; resigned to become a general in the army, and served splendidly throughout the whole course of hostilities. His foreign birth made him ineligible for the Presidency; but his whole career was a fight for civic righteousness. Acting with him was Charles Francis Adams, son of President John Quincy Adams, who had been minister to England during the Civil War and George William Curtis, editor of *Harper's Weekly*. This new party within a party advocated especially—

Civil service reform, by which merit, and not political pull, should rule appointments to office.

Tariff reduction, to discontinue the enrichment of the wealthy few manufacturers by a continuation of the high wartime tariff duties.

An end of federal military dominance over the South. With this went a stern demand for the end of graft and corruption in all public life.

Schurz was ineligible as a candidate in 1872, and unfortunately the candidate finally selected was in every way unfitted by temperament for such high office. This was Horace Greeley, prominent Republican since the inception of the party, and editor of the *New York Tribune*. He was a com-

promise candidate, at best; he was an assertive quick-tempered publicist, who had been in hot water during much of his public career. The Democrats accepted Greeley as their candidate. But there was nothing in him to evoke the national worship of Grant, who had won the war. The election resulted in a landslide for Grant, who received 286 votes in the electoral college, to 66 for Greeley. Grant lost only six out of the thirty-seven states.

FOREIGN COMPLICATIONS DURING GRANT'S TERM

As far back as the Civil War, France, favoring the Confederate cause, saw an opportunity to better itself in North America, during the momentary weakness of the United States. Napoleon III, the French emperor, persuaded the brother of the Austrian emperor, Archduke Maximilian, to "accept the throne of Mexico." France sent over an army of 35,000 to place the Austrian on the Mexican throne, and hold him there. This of course violated the Monroe Doctrine, but the United States was engaged in too bitter an internal struggle to dissipate its energies outwardly.

As soon as the war was over, Secretary of State Seward notified France that the United States would not permit such an infringement of the venerable Monroe Doctrine, and demanded the immediate withdrawal of the French troops. General Sheridan was sent with an army to the Mexican Border, as a persuasive influence. France withdrew, leaving Maximilian unsupported. He was seized by the Mexicans, court-martialed, and shot, in June, 1867.

England, for all that she refused to ally herself with the Confederacy, did violate international law in its behalf, by permitting Confederate warships to be built in England, and sail from English ports to attack the commerce and navy of the United States. In March, 1862, the *Florida* was launched, and in the July following the *Alabama* followed. Two ironclad rams were ready by the summer of 1863 to

leave, when Charles Francis Adams, American minister, informed the English that this would be tantamount to an act of war, and England did not permit the ironclads to sail. The *Alabama* destroyed more than 60 Northern merchant vessels, but was sunk off Cherbourg, France, by the United States *Kearsage*, on June 19, 1864. Another Confederate commerce destroyer, the *Shenandoah*, was still operating in the Pacific against Union merchantmen several weeks after Appomattox, not having heard that the war was over. The damage done by the *Alabama* and other warships built in England was more than \$20,000,000 in shipping destroyed, besides an encouragement to the Confederate cause that may have continued the war for a year or more.

Charles Sumner, the belligerent Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs, flatly demanded that England pay the United States \$200,000,000 in damages, and in addition surrender Canada, British Honduras and British Guiana to the United States. This was a ridiculous claim, of course. The matter was referred to an international arbitration commission to meet in Geneva, Switzerland, consisting of Lord Cockburn for England, Adams for the United States, and representatives from the neutral countries of Switzerland, Brazil, and Italy. The award was announced in September, 1872, and held Great Britain in the wrong, assessing \$15,500,000 damages in gold, to be paid by her to the United States.

Russia, under Czar Alexander II, had been one European power friendly to the United States during the entire course of hostilities. After the war, Russia offered to sell Alaska to us. It had no apparent value except for its seal fisheries, but it was an opportunity to remove one more European power from the continent of America. On March 30, 1867, Seward closed the transaction, paying \$7,200,000 for the whole territory, which was two-thirds as large as

the territory of the original thirteen states—577,390 square miles, as opposed to the 1783 area of 830,000 square miles. Alaska cost us about two cents an acre. Its mineral wealth and even its value agriculturally for its brief summer are constantly being developed. The gold alone taken from the Yukon Valley has far outweighed the original purchase price.

During the terms of Lincoln, Johnson and Grant, the State Department was under the direction of William H. Seward and Hamilton Fish, two of the ablest cabinet officers the United States has ever had. Fish was a quieting influence on Grant. He prevented the old warrior from premature recognition of the Cuban rebels in 1869, a rebellion promptly put down. In 1873, his caution saved us from a war with Spain, when 9 Americans on board the *Virginus*, arrested while illegally running arms and ammunition to the Cuban rebels, were executed by Spain. In at least one case his judgment was overcautious and unwise, since he persuaded Grant to disown a treaty negotiated by the President's private secretary for the purchase and annexation of Santo Domingo. These men were in sharp contrast to such vindictive partisans as Stevens, Butler, Sumner, and the typical machine politician Roscoe Conkling of New York.

THE PANIC OF 1873

The war left the South bankrupt; but it stimulated business enterprises throughout the whole North. Between 1860 and 1870, Northern manufactures increased over 100 percent, and the number of employees more than doubled. Mineral discoveries in the far West caused the organization of the territories of Nevada in 1861, Dakota the same year, and Arizona two years later. In 1862, during the war, Congress approved several proposed railroad lines to the Pacific. That same year the Homestead Act permitted set-

ting on 160 acres by Western frontiersmen, who would get free title to the land after 5 years of occupancy and farming. In 1863 Secretary Chase of the Treasury instituted the national bank system.

This was the great era of railroad expansion. The national mileage doubled in the eight years after Gettysburg. The New York Central, the Hudson River and the Lake Shore companies were all united into a single gigantic system reaching from New York to Chicago. By 1875, there were five huge trunk lines reaching from the Atlantic seaboard to the Great Lakes region. The routes to the Pacific were subsidized by the government with prodigal unrestraint. Altogether over 100,000,000 acres of land along the proposed routes, or much more than twice the area of all New England, was given away to the railroads. It lent them government bonds valued at \$60,000,000, or more than eight times what we paid for Alaska. The Northern Pacific alone was granted more than 47,000,000 acres, or three-fourths the acreage of New England—a gift squandered in building up private fortunes, rather than in actual railroad value.

The Union Pacific, which drove westward from Omaha, Nebraska, met the Central Pacific, which came eastward from San Francisco, at Ogden, Utah, in May, 1869. It was an astonishing engineering feat in those youthful days of railroading. Like everything else that occurred during this period, it was deeply stained with corruption. Some of its leading organizers and directors joined themselves into a construction company called the *Crédit Mobilier*, and, acting as directors in the railroad, assigned to themselves, as construction contractors, juicy contracts at enormous profits. To quiet criticism from Congress, secure especial privileges, and prevent investigation, they awarded large blocks of *Crédit Mobilier* shares where they would "do the most good," even including Vice-President Colfax and James A.

Garfield among the men in public life honored with these gifts. These men may have had no unworthy motive in accepting the stock; the age was one in which such gifts by seekers of public favors were regarded as a natural part of the perquisites of office.

Somebody had to pay the piper for this lavish and scandalous wastage of the public funds. A severe panic occurred in 1873, sending the price of living skyrocketing, and causing the usual misery among the laboring classes. The railroads and mines were the scenes of large strikes. Labor replied by assembling in conventions, which laid down the demands of the working class:

The 8-hour day.

Exclusion of Chinese coolie labor.

Government inspection of factories and mines.

Government money instead of bank money.

No more land grants to railroads or corporations.

Regulation of railroad rates.

An income tax.

A National Department of Labor.

These have all been granted today, with the intermittent exception of the demand for the 8-hour day. The granting of these demands has not brought in a millennium for labor, nor caused its demands to cease.

At the end of Grant's second term, it could fairly be said that no real progress had been made in internal affairs since the Civil War. The South was still under Reconstruction governments, largely composed of Negroes who were only slightly more fit for the ballot and office-holding now, than in 1865; and under the interloping carpetbaggers and the detested homebred scalawags. The standard of public ethics and conduct was lower than it had been at any stage in the history of the government. Government resources had been lavishly bestowed on corrupt railroad interests; who had in return deflected much of the

granted wealth from railroad purposes into private fortunes. National, state and municipal administrations were honeycombed with corruption, and all efforts so far to remedy these had resulted in defeat for the reform elements. Labor was in great distress and was more than restive, its demands largely scoffed at, its strikes put down bloodily. The economic and financial structure of the country had largely collapsed, in the panic of 1873. It was no time for national pride in progress.

In international matters, the United States had fared much better. It could now face the nations of the world with the institution of human slavery abolished, and with a dreadful Civil War ended in a more permanent Union than ever before. Even the black horror of Reconstruction had been accepted by the stricken Southern states, without further bloodshed. France had been forced to retire from the continent. England had been brought to task for her hostile actions in favor of the Confederacy, and an international tribunal had forced her to pay heavy damages for these hostile acts. Russia had been removed from the continent, by the purchase of Alaska. The United States was larger in area, and infinitely more of a united nation, than ever before in its history. If only its internal problems could be solved as cleanly as its external problems had been. . . .

And the election of 1876 was approaching.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE SOUTH REAWAKENS

THE ELECTION OF 1876

IN THE by-election of 1874, largely as a result of the panic of the preceding year, the Democrats won a majority in the House of Representatives, for the first time in 18 years. Up to this time, the Republicans had succeeded in winning by the process inelegantly described as "waving the bloody shirt"—that is, by orating about the "crime of rebellion," and claiming the right, as the saviors of the Union, of ruling that Union any way they saw fit. There was even a faint menace from another source, to supplement the direct menace of the Democrats. Since 1872, a national labor party had been in the field, demanding the 8-hour day, free public education, and other planks in labor's shifting platform. And no one could tell which way the farmers of the West would vote. They were not especially moved by talk of carpetbag usurpation in the South; but they did call for national regulation of railroad rates; and they had their own pet scheme for bringing down the cost of living, which was the unlimited issuance by the government of greenbacks, or paper money not based upon gold, silver, or government bonds.

The Republicans assembled to select a candidate at Cincinnati, on June 14, 1876. The "Stalwart" administration leaders, especially Conkling of New York, wanted Grant for a third term; and he had announced a willingness to run—as willingly, as he put it, as he had run the first time.

But the House had passed a decisive resolution, 233 to 18, that a third term would be—

unwise, unpatriotic, and fraught with peril to our free institutions;

and so the Grant boom was punctured.

When the convention assembled, the leading candidate was James G. Blaine, a Pennsylvanian who had migrated to Maine, and had been a Congressional leader since 1863. He had been the real shaper of the 14th Amendment, although he had never gone to the lengths of vindictiveness against the South as some of the radical Republicans. He was a brilliant debater, a man of intense personal charm, and the idol of his followers, somewhat as Henry Clay and the later William Jennings Bryan were. But he had been involved in Western railroad dealings which could not be easily explained away, and he was distrusted by the liberal leaders of the party, as well as disliked by Conkling and the Stalwarts.

Blaine was nominated by the great orator, Colonel Robert G. Ingersoll, in one of the high-water marks of political eloquence in America. Ingersoll waved the bloody shirt enough, giving Blaine great credit for winning the war, as the man who had "torn from the throat of treason the tongue of slander" and "snatched the mask of Democracy from the hideous face of rebellion," whatever precisely those phrases meant. Blaine was "the plumed knight" who had thrown his lance "full and fair against the brazen head of every traitor to his country and every maligner of his fair reputation." This last was an effort to drown criticism of Blaine's personal record in a cloudburst of impassioned oratory. It moved the convention to a tumultuous ovation. If the vote had been taken then, Blaine would have been selected. But the hours droned on with formal orations praising the other nominees, and some of the magical

spell of Ingersoll's florid periods evaporated, in the boredom of the delegates.

The voting began the next morning. Blaine was far ahead on the first ballot, and led for the first six, though the support of the administration went to the Stalwart candidates Conkling and Morton. A poor fifth, at the beginning, was Governor Rutherford B. Hayes of Ohio, noted chiefly for his sound money attitude. On the 5th ballot, Michigan swung its 22 votes to Hayes. On the 7th ballot, he was nominated, Conkling, who hated Blaine bitterly, throwing 61 of New York's votes to Hayes on this ballot. Hayes had an acceptable war record, and was unimpeachably honest. But he was no real opposition for the Democratic candidate, Governor Samuel J. Tilden of New York, the brilliant leader who had broken the Tweed Ring, by impeaching first the corrupt judges who protected it. It was generally supposed that the election of Tilden might mean such a clean-up in Washington as Tilden had achieved in New York. The Republicans saw small chance of success. The one thing against Tilden was that he had been a prominent railroad and corporation attorney, who was more than clever in making out his own income tax returns, and who had been too busy serving the railroads in 1861 to hear his country's call.

November 7, 1876, election day. . . . One century after the Declaration of Independence had been signed. . . . By nightfall, Tilden's election seemed certain. He had carried the "doubtful states" of the North, New York, Indiana, Connecticut, New Jersey—and had rolled up a sure 184 electoral ballots. He needed only 185 to win. Hayes was ready to admit defeat, with only 165 sure votes. There had been double reports on 1 vote from Oregon, and 19 from Louisiana, South Carolina, and Florida. The Oregon uncertainty came from the fact that 1 Republican elector held a federal postmastership, which made him ineligible; the

Democrats, whose candidate was next highest, claimed this vote—and it would have elected Tilden. Hayes had a right to claim this vote, but the law was explicit.

In Louisiana, the counting of the ballots was in the hands of J. M. Wells, Republican ex-governor, who is said to have offered the electoral vote of Louisiana to wealthy Tilden for \$200,000. The ballots actually cast in this state would have elected Tilden; many Democratic ballots were thrown out in Republican strongholds, but it is probable that many more Negroes were kept away from the polls by intimidation. In the other Southern states, the evidence was as conflicting. There was no machinery provided by the Constitution for deciding the question. Arrogantly the chairman of the Republican Campaign Committee claimed the disputed 20 votes for Hayes, posting on his bulletin Hayes, 185; Tilden, 184. The Constitution provided,

The president of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and the House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted.

The Senate was Republican; the House, Democratic. If the Republican president of the Senate opened the votes and counted them, Hayes was elected—provided he counted them as he saw fit. The Republicans did not dare try this high-handed method, particularly as Hayes announced he insisted on an absolutely fair decision. If the disputed votes were thrown out, Tilden would still be one vote short of election; the election would be thrown into the Democratic House, and Tilden would then be elected—which the Republicans would never accept. The situation was a complete deadlock. And inauguration day was drawing near, with the prospect of an interregnum without a president, unless some solution could be found.

A joint Committee of Congress considered the question, and recommended the creation of a new tribunal to hear the arguments on both sides, and decide which votes should be

registered. Late in January this act passed, providing for an Electoral Commission of 5 Senators, 3 Republicans and 2 Democrats; 5 Representatives, 3 Democrats and 2 Republicans; and 5 members of the Supreme Court, 2 Republicans, 2 Democrats, and a 5th member to be chosen by his four Supreme Court colleagues from among the other Supreme Court justices. Judge David Davis of Illinois was the one independent on the Supreme Court. In the meantime, Davis was elected to the Senate by a combination of Democrats and Independents, and a Republican had to be chosen. This made a commission of 8 Republicans and 7 Democrats. In February the returns were presented to the Commission. By a partisan vote of 8 to 7 on every disputed vote, the 20 votes were given to Hayes, and he was declared elected.

Marse Henry Watterson, of the Louisville *Courier Journal*, had threatened that 100,000 unarmed citizens would march on Washington, to maintain the rights of Tilden. Instead, he was peacefully inaugurated three days later. The one impressive lesson of the disputed election of 1876 was that the country had grown adult enough to view such a result without bloodshed, no matter how many believed that injustice had been done. Tilden retired to his country home, Greystone, near Yonkers, and on his death in 1886 bequeathed \$4,000,000 of his \$5,000,000 fortune to founding a free public library in New York City. After a legal contest on the part of his heirs, more than half of this amount was applied to the establishment and maintenance of the Forty-second Street Public Library in New York City.

INVENTIONS AND THE MACHINE AGE

The United States celebrated the 100th year of its independence not only by the bitterly contested election between Hayes and Tilden, but by a World's Centennial Exposition

at Philadelphia, the formal birthplace of the young seaboard nation in 1776. The fair was visited by thousands, who absorbed from it a sense of the united greatness of the country. Here were the garden and field products of a whole continent, from the citrous groves of Florida, the rice bayous of Louisiana and the Carolinas, the baking cotton plains from Brunswick to the Texas Panhandle, the rich cornlands to the north, clear up to the great wheat granary of the states west of the Great Lakes. Here was the lumbering of a continent, the mining, the magnificent manufacturing exhibits of a nation already emerging into world dominance in the machine age. And nothing was more absorbing than the new inventions, in which America was already leading the world.

These were so many, that it was almost impossible to absorb the importance of all of them in one day. The lightning rod and the Franklin stove, invented by Benjamin Franklin, certainly headed the list. The steamboat, which Fitch and Fulton had invented as long ago as 1787 and 1793, had been known for almost a century now; but constant improvements to it kept crowds gawking at them for hours before these exhibits. And there was the nail machine (Perkins, 1787), Eli Whitney's cotton gin (1793), the screw propeller (Stevens, 1804), the mowing machine (Manning, 1831), the reaper (Schnebley-Huseey, 1833) the magnetic telegraph (Morse, 1832), the harvester (Hiram Moore, 1836), the sewing machine (Howe, 1846), the typewriter (Sholes and Glidden, 1868), the air brake (Westinghouse, 1869), and so many more that they simply overflowed the machinery halls—the welt machine, the lawn mower, the Gatling machine gun and Colt's revolver, the motion picture machine, the brake elevator, the rotary printing press, and even the humble safety pin and the phosphorus friction match—all of these to be admired and

longed for and set as a Machine Age pattern for the country and its future inventors.

Even during the course of the exposition, invention was proceeding: as it did with renewed energy during the two decades that followed. In 1874, Thomas A. Edison, a name still hardly heard of, had invented the quadruplex telegraph. The year of the exposition, Bell invented the telephone; the year afterwards, Edison invented the talking machine; and, within a year, the incandescent lamp, which turned night into day. The gasoline motor, the basis of our automobile development, was perfected by Selden in 1879; the trolley car by Van Depoele and Sprague, between 1884 and 1887. Burroughs' adding machine came a year later, as did the transparent photographic film of Goodwin and Eastman. It was not until 1893 that Edison's motion picture machine appeared . . . and far in the future were the radio, the airplane (Orville and Wilbur Wright, 1903), the vacuum tubes which made modern radio (De Forest, 1907) and television (Baird, 1926).

During the half century before 1876, the rest of the world invented the spinning jenny, the steam engine, the power loom, the electric battery, the daguerreotype, Portland cement, the Bunsen burner, aniline dyes, dynamite, the gas engine; and, after 1876, manganese steel, rayon, the steam turbine, the Welsbach mantle burner, wireless telegraphy (Preece and Marconi), the Diesel oil motor, the helicopter. But the whole world's contribution to the Machine Age was less than that of the United States alone: and a sense of pride in all of this gave the visitors to the Centennial Exposition a thrill quite as definite as that when they thought of Yorktown and Gettysburg and Appomattox. In man's major warfare, against the inertia of his environment, the United States was already taking the lead.

Our industrial progress between the Civil War and 1876 increased quite as amazingly as our record in inventions.

Our coal production was multiplied five times, and our output of steel a hundredfold. Between 1860 and 1880 the wheat yield in Dakota increased from 1,000 bushels 300,000 percent, and the Kansas corn crop during the same period more than 1,500 percent. In 1860, the United States produced annually precious minerals aggregating \$50,000,000 in value; in 1880, Colorado alone produced one fourth of this amount annually, and the total was infinitely larger. Between 1850 and 1860, our manufactures increased almost 90 percent; between 1865 and 1875, they much more than doubled again. And this meant men at work, and prosperity. In 1876, the United States altered permanently from an importing nation to an exporting nation. In only three years between 1850 and 1876 had our exports exceeded our imports; since that time, it is as unusual to find a year in which our exports did not lead. We had a balance of trade at last, and that meant further national prosperity.

Statistics from every department of our economic structure were as encouraging. The wealth of the country increased from \$16,000,000,000 to \$43,000,000,000 in the two decades following 1860, in spite of the ravages of war. Savings deposits, long regarded as one of the best indices of economic progress, increased more than 600 percent in the same period. Our population almost doubled in this period (from 31,000,000 to more than 50,000,000). Immigration, especially to the fertile trans-Mississippi farmlands, increased enormously, and these immigrants were North Europeans, Irish, Germans, and Scandinavians, who definitely strengthened our culture. In the decade following the election of Lincoln, Kansas, Nebraska and Nevada were admitted to statehood, and Arizona, Colorado, Dakota, Idaho, Montana and Wyoming were organized into territories.

Nor does this begin to picture the actual change in living conditions that this definite leadership in the Machine

Age brought with it. Electric lights, trolleys, telephones, phonographs, bicycles, typewriters, became common possessions of Americans, even of the middle class users. Electric railroads became common. Luxurious through trains to the West became usual. The rivers were bridged with steel. The population began moving definitely from rural regions into the cities. Between 1790 and 1880, the city population had increased more than 500 percent, compared to the rural population.

The Machine Age is not an age of complacent good will among all classes of the people. The impressive development of large industries and colossal individual fortunes brought with it an economic chasm between the wealthy and the laboring classes that had been unknown in the simpler pioneer and early farming periods. Organized labor at last was beginning to face organized capital, with some understanding of its position. Labor unions had been organized, especially among the more skilled workers, railroad engineers, firemen, conductors, bricklayers and other building trades, cigar-makers, ironworkers. These announced to capital that they were through with "capital's right to own and control labor for its own greedy and selfish ends." Capital replied with denunciations of ingratitude, and with a more determined effort to keep control of the Machine Age. By 1876, the Knights of Labor, with the slogan "The injury of one is the concern of all," had some 150,000 members throughout the country, inspired especially by organized protests of labor abroad. The Patrons of Husbandry, or Grangers, had been organized, and were gaining strength especially in the agricultural West. They succeeded in having some laws passed regulating railroad freight rates, and became more and more of a political menace.

THE PRESIDENCY OF HAYES

The position of President Hayes was not an enviable one. He had a Democratic House against him during his entire term, and a Democratic Senate for the last half of his one term. These Democrats pointed that the fact of the Democratic House was merely one more proof that Hayes was a usurper, occupying a seat rightly belonging to the Democratic standard-bearer, Tilden. He had never been a favorite of the Republican party leaders, who were divided between Blaine and the Stalwart determination to have Grant for a third term. Hayes had been chosen as a "dark horse" to break the deadlock—that is, as a compromise candidate, not the choice of any predominant group. American political history has had many dark horses, but as a rule they are not the natural leaders, nor especially distinguished in office.

The Democrats never let up against Hayes. They printed his picture with the word FRAUD stamped across his brow. At the same time the machine Republicans sneered at his every effort for reform, dubbing him hypocrite, "goody-goody" and "Granny Hayes." He had no magnetic arts to charm and capture the crowd. Like that strangely intelligent and effective John Quincy Adams, he continued on the lonely path of what he regarded as his duty, writing down religiously in his diary his explanation of his own conduct.

The constructive things that Hayes did, did more to wipe out the stain of Reconstruction than all that had been done before his time since the end of the war. There were still Negro governments in Louisiana and South Carolina, guarded by federal troops. He withdrew the troops, and let the states subside into the Democratic column, by methods which we shall come to. He braved the wrath of the "Big Four" of New York State Republican politics, Roscoe Conkling, Thomas Platt ("Boss" Platt), Chester A. Arthur

and Alonzo B. Cornell, by dismissing the latter two from their federal offices, Collector of the Port of New York and Naval Officer. He did his best to restore the broken faith of the United States in its dealings with the Indians of the Far West, who had been fed on rotten rations, robbed by dishonest Indian agents, tricked by lying promises, and goaded into numerous uprisings in an effort to remedy these conditions. When it is remembered that these uprisings cost the United States the lives of more than 600 soldiers and at least \$22,000,000, it may be realized how important was this attitude of Hayes's. The most important of these uprisings occurred the year of the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition. The government, for reasons not considerate of the Indians, ordered the warlike Sioux, in 1876, to leave their ancient hunting grounds in Montana, and move further west. The Sioux rose, under Sitting Bull. On June 25th, Colonel George A. Custer courageously tried to surprise Sitting Bull at Little Big Horn River, although he had a force of only 262 men with him. The United States troops were wiped out to the last man. Hayes did much to put a stop to such ghastly uprisings.

He was faced with the problem of Chinese immigration, and sent a commission to China to lay the foundations for negotiations leading to a treaty which would protect our Pacific Coast laborers against the competition of cheap Mongolian coolie labor, with a standard of living far lower than the American standard. In the decade after 1850, Chinese immigration had increased from 10,000 at least 300 percent. The work on the railroads throughout the country could be done by such cheap un-American labor, even as far east as the early railroads in Alabama. As the building of the Union Pacific progressed, many more Chinese immigrants were in demand. They were content with a few cents a day, quarters that an American would regard as unsuitable for a domestic animal, and little more than

rice for food, they were a definite menace to our Pacific Coast laborers, with their living demand of four dollars a day and roast beef. The Burlingame Treaty of 1868 had guaranteed to the Chinese protection in trade, religion and free travel, while in America; in spite of this, mobs in California and Oregon were organized to drive the Chinese coolies back across the border. Ultimately China agreed to our regulating this immigration from this side of the Pacific.

LABOR AND THE COINAGE

Hayes had been in office only a short time, when the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad reduced the wages of its trainmen 10 percent, and the Pennsylvania began laying off train crews. The organized railroad workers promptly went on strike, and by the middle of 1877 most of the railroads from the Atlantic seaboard to the Middle West were tied up. The entire anthracite coal mining region of Pennsylvania, toward the east, was terrorized by mobs, and there was bloody rioting in Chicago, Baltimore, Reading, Scranton, and especially Pittsburgh, where \$10,000,000 worth of railroad property was destroyed by the rioters, and over 50 men were killed or wounded. President Hayes quieted this situation only when state militia and federal troops were put in charge, under martial law.

From the beginning of our national government, little silver had been coined into money in the United States. Up to 1834, the government mints received silver bullion for coinage at a ratio of fifteen ounces of silver to one of gold; and, after 1834, at a ratio of approximately 16 to 1. Silver was so scarce, during this period, that jewelers offered more to the mine owners than the government paid. In 1873, when the amount of silver in a silver dollar was worth \$1.02 to a jeweller, the government discontinued the coinage of silver dollars.

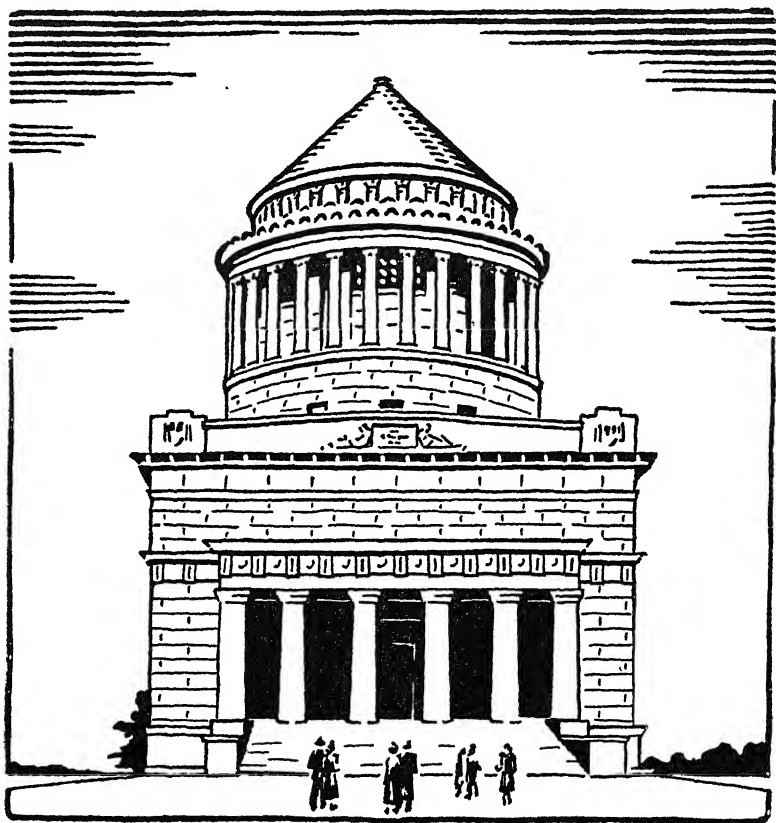
In 1873, enormous deposits of silver were discovered in

the Western states. One mine, which had produced in 1873 only \$645,000 in bullion, in two years had increased its production to \$16,000,000. The famous Comstock lode in Nevada had an output of \$42,000,000 in three years. Between the 1861 figure of \$1,000,000 per year silver output and the 1875 figure, the production rose 2,900 percent. The price of silver sagged, and the mine owners were naturally anxious to have the government take their surplus and coin it at the old rate. The mine owners demanded the repeal of the 1873 act stopping the coinage of silver. This selfish and thoroughly natural demand on the part of the Western mine-owners was shortly joined by the Western farmers, who had to pay ruinous rates of interest to Eastern capitalists, who had a monopoly on the nation's gold.

This demand of Western mine owners and farmers soon expressed itself in national legislation. Representative Richard P. Bland of Missouri offered in the first Congress during Hayes's administration a bill calling for the "free" or unlimited coinage of silver, at the old ratio of 16 to 1. Senator Allison of Iowa toned this down, by an amendment requiring the government to agree to purchase, for coining silver dollars, not less than \$2,000,000 of silver a month, and not more than \$4,000,000. The bill passed both Houses, was vetoed, and was passed over his veto by the requisite two-thirds majority. This bill bound the government to issue annually at least \$24,000,000 in silver dollars, worth, at the 1878 rate, only 90 cents apiece. This meant a gift of \$2,400,000 annually to the owners of silver mines, and was passed largely because of Western farming community belief that it would make money more available to them.

The government also resumed the payment of government paper money in coin. The \$450,000,000 of paper money or "greenbacks" issued during the Civil War had no security beyond the government's promise to pay. In spite of Western protests demanding more greenbacks, instead

of less, a law passed during Grant's last term in 1875 bound the government, after January 1, 1879, to redeem greenbacks in coin—which meant, at that time, gold. Secretary of the Treasury Sherman accumulated \$140,000,000 in gold, chiefly from the sale of bonds. On the day when greenbacks were first to be redeemed in specie, only \$135,000 was presented for redemption, showing how fully the government's credit had become established.



Grant's Tomb

CHAPTER XXIX

TROUBLED YEARS

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM

HAYES never had a chance for reelection. The Democrats never got over the feeling that he held office without being entitled to it and the Republican machine politicians, more and more powerful throughout the North, fought him at every point, on the theory that all reformers were dangerous. The Republican Stalwarts, led by Senator Roscoe Conkling of New York, boomed Grant again for a third term. Grant had just returned from a triumphal tour of Europe, in which he had been greeted as an equal by the royalty of the world and he had an immense popularity, the chief argument against him being the ancient precedent against a third term for Presidents, a precedent established by George Washington in 1796. Blaine was a strong candidate again. Secretary of the Treasury John Sherman of Ohio was also a strong candidate. After 35 ballots, the delegation from Wisconsin led a stampede to General James A. Garfield of Ohio, a Sherman worker at the convention. Garfield was a self-made American who had climbed upward from a canal towpath to a college presidency, and to leadership in Congress. He had served with distinction under General Thomas, the "Rock of Chickamauga," and was an able man in every way. As his running mate, the Stalwarts succeeded in securing the selection of Chester A. Arthur of New York, one of the "Big Four" who ran New York state machine politics.

The Republican party was bitterly split, at this time, into the Stalwarts, who stood for—

Complete partisan Republican rule.

A high protective tariff.

The spoils system in appointments.

The assessment of officeholders for party funds.

Continued military coercion of the South, to prevent white dominance.

Opposed to these were the reformers, called contemptuously "Half-breeds" by the Stalwarts. The Democrats also selected a hero of the Civil War as their candidate, since a Civil War record seemed the best bait for votes. They nominated General Winfield S. Hancock, the hero of Gettysburg, to oppose Garfield. This was the first election since 1860 in which bayonets had not intimidated the Southern voters; and they cast a solid Democratic vote, even though their candidate had been the Unionist winner at Gettysburg. The electoral vote stood 214 for Garfield to 155 for the Democratic candidate, and the Republicans even regained control in the House of Representatives.

Even before inauguration, Garfield showed his complete independence of Conkling and the other Stalwarts, who had been persuaded to take the stump for him, at the urgent request of ex-President Grant. Garfield named for his Secretary of State the bitterest enemy of Conkling, Blaine, and was deaf to all pleas of "Senatorial courtesy" in making appointments to federal offices in New York state and elsewhere. Conkling and Platt, the two New York Senators, visited Garfield in Washington, and for two hours tongue-lashed him unmercifully—a disgraceful situation in American political history. When they could not alter his attitude, they resigned their seats in the Senate, Conkling to die in the great blizzard of 1888, and Platt to return much later to the Senate for two terms.

A few weeks after the New York Senators resigned, a

Stalwart fanatic. Charles Guiteau, stepped up behind the President in the Baltimore and Potomac Depot in Washington, and shot a bullet into his head. He announced calmly that he wished to rid the country of a traitor, and place the Stalwart Arthur in the White House. Garfield lingered in a dying condition through the searing summer, and died on September 19, 1881, in Elberon, New Jersey.

This assassination made the country suddenly conscious of the sordid condition of national office-seeking. The President was badgered, from the moment of his election, by all the party supporters, who demanded for themselves and their associates the plums of victory. One politician, appointed to some position, was asked why he did not do any work in it. "Work! Why, I worked to get here!" This was the spirit of officeholding before 1881. A bill introduced by Representative Jenckes of Rhode Island for seven successive years was passed in 1871, providing for a commission to ascertain the fitness of candidates for public office. This commission advocated the "merit system," in which competitive examination rather than political pull would determine. But Grant's two terms were no time to improve any governmental conditions, and in 1875 Congress quietly strangled the commission, by appropriating nothing for its expenses. During the administration of Hayes, the movement gained headway; over thirty states adopted civil service leagues, and a national body was formed at Newport the year Garfield was shot.

It was this league which inspired the bill introduced into the Senate by Senator George Pendleton of Ohio, the Pendleton Act. It was passed by both houses, and President Arthur signed it in January, 1883. This left it to presidential discretion as to how far the merit system should be extended, and revived the Civil Service Commission. Federal officeholders could not be discharged any longer for political opinions. No longer could party treasurers levy contri-

butions on political officeholders. The immediate effect of the act was to protect more than 14,000 officeholders in their positions. Later on, the system was greatly extended, in national, state and municipal officeholding. The Stalwarts fought against this reform to the end, calling Civil Service "Snivel Service". Such terms as "Half-breeds" and "Snivel Service" were precursors of the American habit of "window-dressing," carried to such success later by Ivy Lee and other sloganeers. This was based upon the idea that the name you called a thing dictated the popular support for it; "call a dog a bad name, and you kill it."

The abnormally high tariff was building up a tremendous surplus of unused money in the national Treasury, as well as continually enriching the few wealthy manufacturers at the expense of the mass of the people. In spite of the constant cry that Republican administration meant a "full dinner pail" for the workman, a slogan could not reverse economic facts. The boom following the panic of 1873 reached its climax, and by 1881 a period of "hard times" began again. This direct message to the bank accounts and stomachs of the American people usually called for an overturn of the party in control. In the Congressional by-election of 1882, the Democrats again carried the House; and the Republican leaders realized that they would have a hard battle to continue their partisan supremacy, which had lasted since 1860.

THE ELECTION OF CLEVELAND

Blaine, who had been a popular idol for years, had strengthened his hold on the popular imagination, during his term of office as Secretary of State under Garfield and Arthur. During a dispute between Peru and Chile, Blaine had intervened in words which implied the right of the United States to act as arbiter in quarrels between the smaller South and Central American republics. He had hec-

tored England concerning the proposed canal across the Isthmus of Panama, and all of his state papers had been written in resonant Americanese, rather than in the more guarded language usual in diplomatic correspondence.

The reform element in the Republican party still could not stomach him, due to his connection with shady Western land and railroad operations before 1876. The Republican New York *Sun* jeered at these reformers, whom Blaine had called the "unco guid" (the Scotch equivalent of our "goody-goodies") by calling them "Mugwumps," an Indian name meaning "big chiefs." The New England Republican reformers advocated the selection of Senator Edmunds of Vermont; the Stalwarts desired the renomination of President Arthur. But the Blaine movement this time could not be stopped, and he secured the Republican nomination for President at last.

Immediately the Mugwumps, or Independent Republicans, formed a league at New York City, led by George William Curtis, who had been a leading Republican reformer since Grant's first term. They denounced the selection of an anti-reformer allied with the most partisan and unscrupulous members of his party, rendering him "wholly disqualified for the high office of President of the United States". They announced to the Democrats that, if they would nominate an honest, independent candidate, these independent Republicans would bolt the regular Republican ticket, and support him.

The Democrats nominated Grover Cleveland, Governor of New York. Cleveland was a typical self-made American, who had started life as the son of an impoverished Presbyterian minister, had tended country store, taught in an institution for the blind, and had risen, after studying law, to be district attorney, sheriff of Erie County, and finally mayor of Buffalo, on an independent ticket. He had been an honest, efficient and courageous public official, and as

Democratic candidate for governor he had carried that pivotal state by a landslide of 192,000 plurality. He had been called the "veto mayor," and he made just as independent a governor. He lacked all the brilliance of Blaine; he was patient, plodding, but trustworthy.

The campaign was dirty from start to finish. Having no public grounds on which to criticize Cleveland, the Republicans circulated stories about his private life. In retaliation, the Democrats, with more reason, resurrected the disgraceful story of Blaine's railroad bonds, and the "Mulligan letters" written by Blaine to railroad manipulators. When Conkling, Blaine's bitter enemy, was asked to take the stump for the "plumed knight," he retorted, "Thank you, I don't engage in criminal practice."

The election was extremely close. In popular vote, Cleveland received 4,874,986; Blaine, 4,851,981—a difference of 23,000 votes in more than nine million. As the returns came in, it became clearer that the vote in New York state would determine the result. Toward the end of the campaign, a New York clergyman named Burchard had congratulated Blaine on his forthcoming victory over the forces of "Rum, Romanism and Rebellion." This alliterative slogan implied that Roman Catholics, drunkards or at least the liquor interests, and Southern rebels were the supporters of the Democratic candidate: and it acted like a boomerang, being adopted the length and breadth of the land as a slogan against the erratic brilliance of Blaine. For several days the result from New York state was in doubt. The final tabulation showed that Cleveland was the winner, by the tiny majority of 1,149 votes, out of a total vote of well over a million. He became president by carrying the one pivotal state by a majority of less than one-tenth of one percent of the votes cast.

The Republicans deserved the defeat. During the two administrations of Grant, they had permitted the country

to sink into such a slough of public incompetence and corruption as it has never known before or since. They were regarded by half the country as having stolen the election of 1876; and were generally accused of having bought the election of 1880. When their own tariff commission in 1883 recommended a reduction of 20 percent in duties, they made a mere reduction of 3 percent. The leaders of the party machine fought against the reform element of the party for more than a dozen years, with cynical callousness. Their major platform plank was "waving the bloody shirt"—arousing Northern vindictiveness against the Southern "rebels," who had been punished enough by now, without question. And so belatedly they were ousted, and a Democrat entered the White House for the first time in 28 years.

PROBLEMS OF CLEVELAND'S ADMINISTRATION

Cleveland had always occupied executive positions, as sheriff, mayor, and governor; and in none of these had he had to act as an executive cipher, merely carrying out the laws made by other people. He always regarded himself as the direct representative of the people, bound to carry out their will, especially as expressed in the platform on which he had been elected. This made him one of the strong presidents, who measured his will against Congress on many occasions. It has usually been times of great national emergency which brought out the power of the executive, at the expense of the legislative: such periods as Jackson's fight against wealth and sectionalism, Lincoln's struggle to preserve the Union during the Civil War years, McKinley's task at the successful termination of our war with Spain, Wilson's task as President during the World War period. It has needed also a strong man at such times to hold the helm and add to its powers; a weakling never succeeded. Cleveland was a strong man, and the problems of his administrations, although not so obvious as civil or

foreign warfare, were nevertheless enormous and menacing.

No matter what Cleveland did, he was sure to provoke bitter animosity. The House was Democratic, and expected him to drive the Republicans out of office according to the outdated Spoils System, and replace them with "deserving Democrats." The Republican Senate pointed out that it had been Mugwump strength which had turned the tide toward victory, and demanded that he abide wholly by civil service principles. The President chose as Secretary of the Interior L. Q. C. Lamar of Mississippi, and as Attorney-General Augustus H. Garland of Arkansas. Both had been Confederate brigadier generals; and Cleveland was at once attacked for treason to the memory of the brave Unionist soldiers of 1861-1865. He discovered certain postmasters using their offices for partisan purposes, and he at once removed them. He was at once accused of treachery to the principles of civil service. In 1886, Cleveland removed District Attorney Dustin of Alabama for similar practices. The Senate, relying on the Tenure of Office Act which had been designed to trap Andrew Johnson in 1867, refused to confirm the nomination of Dustin's successor, and demanded to see the records concerning the causes of dismissal. Cleveland met the issue squarely. Believing that the Tenure of Office Act was unconstitutional, he responded that he had an absolute power of removal, and defied the Senate to deter him from "government for the people." The Senate was torn for months over this fight, censuring the Attorney-General and harshly criticizing the President. Cleveland won, and the Tenure of Office Act was repealed the next year. A strong man usually has his way.

The Presidential Succession Act was also passed in 1886. Hitherto the presidential succession, on the death of President and Vice President, had gone to the president *pro tempore* of the Senate and, after him, to the Speaker of the House. When Democratic Vice-President Hendricks

died in November, 1885, the Senate chose Republican John Sherman as its president pro tem, putting him in line for the presidency in case of Cleveland's death. To prevent this possibility of party shift midstream, it was provided that cabinet members, in the order of the creation of their departments—State, Treasury, War and so on—should succeed in that order.

Ever since the Republican high tariff had been functioning, the Treasury surplus had been mounting, until in 1885 it reached the huge total of \$300,000,000. This money served no useful purpose, lying idle in the Treasury; and it was proof conclusive of excessive overtaxation. This surplus might have been applied to paying off the national debt. But the government's bonds were important sources of safe investment; and the purchase by banks of these bonds was a condition prerequisite to the issuance of bank money, which would have had to decrease if the government called in its bonds—and this was at a time when more and more currency was required, to keep up with the nation's growing trade. Another sensible method of reducing the surplus would have been to expend part of it to improve the rivers and harbors of the country, for education, especially in the South, for naval defenses, or even for increased pensions to Civil War veterans. But this idea of using the national wealth to develop the country—the old "American system" of Henry Clay and the loose constructionist Whigs—was anathema to the strict constructionist Democrats. Cleveland worded it partly:

The people must support the government, but the government must not support the people.

The one way left to reduce the surplus was to reduce the revenues of the government, particularly those coming from the overhigh Republican tariff. Cleveland opened fire on the tariff in his first message to Congress. The Democratic House refused to consider any bill for revision—showing

to what an extent the influence of the manufacturers reached even the Democratic legislators. Cleveland attacked the tariff in his second annual message, and devoted his third exclusively to it. He was not interested, he wrote, in nice logical distinctions between free trade and protection. Perhaps a protective tariff did bolster up American wages, retain our money in the United States, build up a world market for American goods, and make us self-sufficient as far as the necessities of life went. It still remained that the people were being ground down by a tariff that was "vicious, illegal, and inequitable," and the constantly growing surplus must be reduced at once, by lowering the tariff rates. Another of his epigrams passed into popular speech, when he wrote of the situation,

It is a condition that confronts us, and not a theory.

Congressman Roger Q. Mills of Texas finally drew up the Mills Tariff Bill, which reduced rates about 8 percent. The Senate refused to pass the bill. As the campaign of 1888 came on, the Republican platform announced flatly,

We favor the entire repeal of internal taxes, rather than the surrender of any part of our protective system.

Campaign orators pointed out that it was high tariff alone which provided for the prosperity of American labor, and which kept our working classes from sinking into the half-starving standard of living of workmen in other countries. The American people still believed this.

Since 1876, the economic structure of the entire country had been slowly and subtly altered, by the consolidation of competing businesses in every line into enormous corporations or "trusts." A trust was originally a board of trustees who held in trust the shares of stock of various companies included in a combine. In the period before 1890, this method of combination was declared illegal; but other methods were substituted, such as ownership by one com-

pany of the stock of the others, or management by identical boards of directors, with identical ownership. The word "trust" is used today to apply to any combination large and inclusive enough to possess a monopoly, or a partial monopoly, over the production and distribution of any commodity. These trusts have been amply represented in the various branches of government since their formation, and have seen to it that all the tariff bills, Republican or Democratic, since that time, have kept the tariff duties at approximately 50 percent, far higher than at any previous period in our history. The nation seems committed to a policy of protection of the manufacturing interests.

By the end of Cleveland's first term, the Pennsylvania "coal roads" (the Erie, the Lehigh Valley, the Pennsylvania, and the Lackawanna) had formed a working combination controlling most of the anthracite coal production in the United States. There were similar consolidations affecting iron, sugar, lead, whiskey, oil, and lumber. In belated opposition to these, labor began to combine for its protection, demanding—

State and national protection of the health and safety of labor in mines and factories.

An end to child labor.

Compulsory arbitration of disputes between capital and labor.

A graduated income tax, which would fall most heavily on the recipients of larger incomes.

Prohibition of foreign labor importation, and of convict labor.

Nationalization of railroads, telegraphs, and telephones.

In 1886, the labor movement expressed itself politically by the campaign of Henry George, author of *Progress and Poverty*, for mayor of New York. His platform demanded the "single tax" on the use value of land to replace all other

taxes, and offered this as a panacea or cure-all for all economic ills. That same year, Edward Bellamy's novel, *Looking Backward*, picturing an idealist's view of a perfect society in the year 2000, sold by the hundreds of thousands. This novel proposed complete cooperation to take the place of competition and the class struggle between labor and capital, and was denounced as the offshoot of foreign socialistic agitation.

Labor and capital fought it out on the industrial field, during Cleveland's first term, more bitterly than ever before in our history. In the first few months of 1886, there were more than 500 strikes throughout the United States. Strikers in the McCormick Reaper Works in Chicago were being forcibly repressed, when anarchists called an open-air meeting in Haymarket Square, to protest police brutality. The police ordered the group to disperse, and charged. A dynamite bomb was thrown into their midst, killing 7 and wounding 60. The police united ranks and broke up the gathering, arresting the ringleaders. Four of them were hanged, one—Louis Lingg—committed suicide in prison by closing his teeth on a tiny bomb passed to him, and several were pardoned by the libertarian governor of Illinois, Altgeld. Cleveland in 1886 sent Congress a special message on the subject of labor troubles, the first presidential message on this subject since the nation began.

THE RAILROADS, AND THE ELECTION OF 1888

The leading trouble of Cleveland's first term came over the railroads. For fifteen years the Western farmers, expressing their resentment chiefly through the Granger movement, had indicted the railroads both for excessive rates and for discrimination. The railroads were prospering enormously, and by lobbying, free transportation, and various methods regarded as underhand were securing control of state legislatures and securing an enormous interest

in the national Congress. They were allying themselves with the trusts and, by differential rates, aiding these to crush out independent competition—thus permitting further exploitation of the people, forced to buy monopoly products at monopoly extortionate prices.

The states began passing the so-called Granger laws, fixing maximum rates for freight and storage, and outlawing differential rates. A United States court decided, in *Wabash Railroad versus the State of Illinois*, that the Constitution forbade a state law to affect interstate commerce; and this of course made the Granger laws of no practical benefit. In February 1887 Congress passed the famous Cullom Act, the Interstate Commerce Act, providing for a commission of five men, with power to investigate thoroughly the practices of the railroads. It provided further for equal rates and rate tariffs open to public inspection, and authorized the commission to initiate suits in federal courts to enforce the law. Shrewd lawyers evaded most of its provisions, so much so that Justice Harlan of the United States Supreme Court described the act as a "useless piece of legislation." Its major benefit was in laying a legislative precedent for adequate supervision of railroad and other large monopolies in the next century.

Cleveland was the clear choice of the Democratic nominating convention of 1888, universally recognized as the leader of his party and a man of utter honesty and common sense. Blaine, absent in Europe, refused to take the nomination. He suggested the selection of General Benjamin Harrison, grandson of President William Henry Harrison, the pioneer Indian fighter and hero of the battle of Tippecanoe. Cleveland was denounced as a free trade advocate, who sought to reduce the American working man to the level of the underpaid European laborer or the Chinese coolie. His rigid scrutiny of pension bills, and his veto of dishonest ones, cost him the support of many veterans of the Civil

War. He ordered the Confederate flags stored in the War Building at Washington to be restored, after more than a score of years, to the Southern states: and this cost him votes the length and breadth of the North. The election swung on New York state again: and this time, although the Democratic gubernatorial candidate, David B. Hill, was victorious, Cleveland, chiefly through opposition to his alleged tariff policy, was defeated by 13,000 votes—by 1 percent of the votes of the state. He had a plurality of the popular vote, too; but the electoral college system of presidential selection permits a minority president to be elected, provided he carries by a tiny majority enough states to give him a majority in the electoral college. And so Cleveland failed of reelection, and a Republican sat in the White House again.

HARRISON AS PRESIDENT

Harrison accepted immediately the warning of the Republican leader in the Senate, Senator Sherman:

The President should have no policy distinct from that of his party, and this is better represented in Congress than in the executive.

Blaine became Secretary of State, and overshadowed the President throughout his four years of office. Thomas B. Reed of Maine, Speaker of the House, known as "Czar Reed," became famous for his arbitrary use of the power of recognition of members of the House to speed up the transaction of business, and by this and other methods turned the House into a steam-roller to register Republican policies. This autocratic power continued until 1910, when Republican insurgents joined with Democrats to limit the czarlike power of the Speaker.

The Republican Congress proceeded to spend the Treasury surplus in appropriations for the navy, coast defenses, lighthouses, harbors, liberal pensions, and the like. The

appropriations of Congress passed the \$1,000,000,000 mark, for the first time in our history. The Democrats inveighed against this "raid on the treasury"; Czar Reed retorted quietly that we had become a billion dollar country. We had a navy at last worthy of our rank among the nations. The census of 1890 showed a population of 62,500,000 and a national wealth of 65 billions, with an increased movement toward city living at the expense of the rural population. The South at last showed astonishing manufacturing growth, chiefly initiated by Northern capital. Alabama rose to be third in the Union in the iron industry, and the whole South began to awake from its agricultural lethargy of a century into a share in the Machine Age development.

The last Indian war in the West took place in the Sioux uprising of 1890. In 1889, North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana and Washington became states, and Idaho and Wyoming entered in 1890. Oklahoma was purchased from the Indians, and thrown open to white settlement. Utah did not achieve statehood until 1895, when the Mormon Church prohibited its institution of polygamy. Oklahoma and Indian Territory combined as the state of Oklahoma in 1907; and in 1912 Arizona and New Mexico entered separately as states, after a long dispute as to joining them. This completed the forty-eight continental states, only the isolated territory of Alaska remaining on the continent.

The South, particularly in its state constitutions adopted since 1890, has consistently deprived the Negroes of the right to vote granted by the 15th amendment. One method has been an educational qualification, in practice at time used to deprive highly educated Negroes of the vote; and by the "grandfather clauses," which grant the vote, irrespective of the educational qualification, to the sons or grandsons of legal voters of the states before the passage of the 15th Amendment. As an example of the working of

these clauses, Negro registration in Louisiana was reduced from 127,000 in 1896 to 5,300 in 1900. The Supreme Court has not yet passed directly upon the constitutionality of these shrewd provisions, largely because the North has lost its crusading impulse in favor of the Negro, satisfied to receive income from its investments in Southern industries.

In 1890, the McKinley Tariff Bill was passed, redeeming the campaign pledge of the Republicans, raising the duties on almost all articles of household consumption. Prices rose at once, and labor felt the pinch. At the demand of Western silver mine owners, the Sherman Silver Purchase Act was passed in 1890, binding the government to purchase 4,500,000 ounces of silver per month, at a market rate then about one dollar per ounce. This merely caused the accumulation of silver in the Treasury, its value constantly shrinking. At the same time the Sherman Anti-Trust Act was passed; but it was worded so vaguely, that it for years was not enforced to any extent.

In the 1890 by-election for Congressmen, the country reacted especially against the higher prices by a Democratic landslide, 255 Democratic Congressmen being elected to 88 Republicans. This caused a deadlock for the next two years between the Democratic House and the Republican Senate. Meanwhile Secretary of State Blaine engineered a Pan-American Congress, composed of delegates from 19 Latin American countries, which met at Washington toward the end of 1889, which resulted in the formation of a Bureau of the American Republics in Washington, to keep us in touch with the more southerly republics. A dispute over Samoa almost resulted in war with Germany, but ended in German recognition of the neutrality of the islands, and of our equal rights with England in a protectorate over the native king. A tribunal meeting in Paris in 1893 settled our tense quarrel with Great Britain over the Bering Sea seal

fisheries, holding that the sea was open to all the nations beyond the three-mile limit of our jurisdiction. There was tension with Italy over the lynching of some Italians in New Orleans, settled by our paying \$25,000 to the families of the lynched men. Tension with Chile over the murder of an American sailor from the cruiser *Baltimore* in the streets of Valparaiso was met by Blaine's firm insistence that Chile apologize, and this was done, ending the incident.

Three days before the Republican convention at Minneapolis, in 1892, Blaine resigned as Secretary of State, inspired chiefly by a desire to be the presidential candidate again. Harrison was renominated, 535 to 182, and Blaine retired to his home in Maine, to die within a half year. The Grangers, expanded into the Farmers' Alliance, and the Knights of Labor, united in a Cincinnati convention in 1891 to form the Populist party, drawing up a radical platform which demanded—

The free coinage of silver.

The abolition of the national banks.

A graduated income tax.

Government ownership of railroads, telephones, telegraphs, and steamship lines.

Election of United States Senators by direct vote.

In convention at Omaha, the next year, they nominated James B. Weaver for the presidency. Cleveland was the Democratic choice again, in spite of the opposition of machine Democratic politicians like Governor Hill of New York. In the election, he swamped Harrison by a popular plurality of 400,000, securing 277 electoral votes to 145. Best of all, he carried with him a Democratic majority in both House and Senate. The Populist party carried the four states of Kansas, Colorado, Idaho, and Nevada, securing over a million popular votes and 22 electoral votes.

as high as the McKinley Act of 1890, Cleveland described the bill as "party perfidy and dishonor." It became a law without his signature.

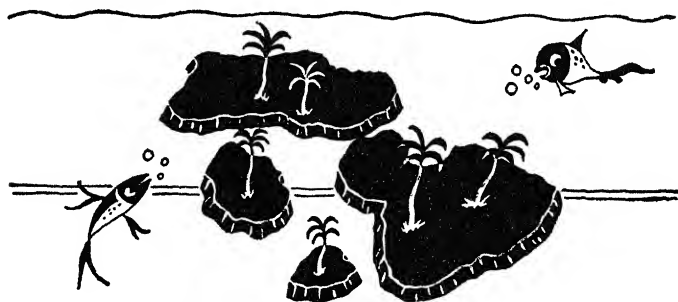
The Wilson Tariff Bill provided for a 2 percent tax on incomes above \$4,000, following the precedent of the Civil War income tax of 3 to 10 percent. In May, 1895, the Supreme Court, in a 5 to 4 decision, reversed its 1880 decision declaring an income tax constitutional, and held it unconstitutional. The Supreme Court was described as the rich man's ally, and general demand was made that it surrender its right to declare laws unconstitutional.

In 1893, the country paid for Republican prosperity with a severe financial panic. "General" Jacob Coxey led an army of vagrants from Ohio to Washington, to demand \$500,000,000 in irredeemable greenbacks, to give work to the idle by highway improvements throughout the country. Coxey and the other leaders were arrested on May day as they trudged across the Capitol lawn for trespassing on the grass, and this ended the demonstration. A serious strike broke out among the workers of the Pullman Palace Car Company, which was supported by Eugene V. Debs's powerful American Railway Union, to which 4,000 Pullman employees belonged. The union instructed its men not to move Pullman cars. When United States mail trains could not move, because they had Pullman cars attached, Cleveland sent troops to Chicago, chief seat of the conflict, and the strikers were enjoined from interfering with United States mails. Rioting took place, Debs and other leaders were jailed, and the federal troops fired on several mobs when attacked. Governor Altgeld of Illinois, who had pardoned some of the Haymarket anarchists, denounced the President for sending troops when Illinois had not asked for them, and the Western part of the country especially grew inflamed over "government by injunction" and the Supreme Court decisions upholding the imprisonment of

Debs, who had urged against disorder, and declaring the income tax law unconstitutional.

During Harrison's administration, the United States had assumed a protectorate over Hawaii, and an annexation treaty had been prepared. Cleveland, after investigation, decided that the American consul had been precipitate, and had the American flag hauled down. In a dispute between Venezuela and Great Britain over boundaries, the government insisted that the Monroe Doctrine ruled, and informed England that it intended to make the decision in the dispute. Great Britain backed down, at a wave of popular protest against war with the United States, and the matter was arbitrated by a tribunal in Paris.

Meanwhile, there was wide unrest against Cleveland's conservatism, on the part of Free Silverites, Populists, and radical Democrats. They needed only a leader: and the leader was not long delayed. Insurgent Democratic Congressmen announced openly that the Washington administration did not reflect the will of the party, and called for the radicals of the West to organize and take control of the party. The money lords of Wall Street, they said, were the real enemy. And so the Democrats met in convention in Chicago, on July 7, 1896, and a young man named William Jennings Bryan rose to speak. . . .



The United States Annexes Hawaii

CHAPTER XXX

THE PROTEST OF 1896

BRYAN AND FREE SILVER

NO AMERICAN ever sprang into public importance more swiftly than William Jennings Bryan. The convention in which he rose to speak had already snowed under the resolution praising the Cleveland administration; and had demanded the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1. And then Bryan rose, to make a speech he had rehearsed in two years of intensive evangelism in the West in the interest of silver: but it sounded like an inspired improvisation to the frantic delegates, who had found their Moses at last.

Having behind us the producing masses of this nation and the world, supported by the commercial interests, the laboring interests, and the toilers everywhere, we will answer their demand for a gold standard by saying to them: "You shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns—you shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold!"

On the fifth ballot, the leading candidate, Richard P. Bland of Missouri, was overwhelmed in a flood of Bryan ballots, and the young Nebraskan became the nominee of the insurgent Democrats.

The Republicans had already nominated William B. McKinley of Ohio, author of the McKinley Tariff, and a sturdy conservative statesman. Marcus A. Hanna of Ohio managed the Republican campaign, and had a large war chest to use

to best advantage in converting the country away from the free silver advocates. The demand for unlimited silver coinage had originated from the selfish Western owners of silver mines; the radicals had taken it up, because it would mean depreciating the currency about 50 percent, and would, they believed, break the stranglehold of Wall Street, which controlled the gold, upon the nation's currency. The Republicans were willing to advocate international bimetallism; but not a policy which would make us a dumping-ground for the world's cheap silver.

Bryan covered 18,000 miles in 14 weeks, making 600 speeches to more than 5,000,000 Americans. A month before the election, his selection seemed assured. Bryan polled 6,509,052 popular votes, to 7,111,607 for McKinley; he lost by 176 to 271 electoral votes. If Bryan in 1896 had stood for a sane opposition to monopoly, to the iniquitous high protective tariff, and a sound money policy. . . . One New York Democratic paper worded it,

Lunacy dictated the platform, and hysteria evolved the candidate.

The subsequent career of Bryan showed that he was a magnificent zealot, always ahead of his countrymen in his policies, and never quite the statesman in weighing reality.

THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR

Cuba and Puerto Rico, alone of the Spanish possessions in the New World, had not secured their independence from Spain in the revolutions of the second decade of the nineteenth century. Corrupt Spanish officials for years had squandered the revenues of the island, and had brutally crushed every spark of rebellion. After the Civil War, millions of American dollars were invested in the sugar and tobacco plantations of Cuba, the nearest island, and these millions of dollars suffered from continued Spanish mismanagement. In 1895, an especially bloody insurrection broke

out. The Spanish commander, Weyler, unable to suppress the rebels in warfare in the open country, gathered the old men, women and children into "reconcentration camps," where, penned in filthy prisons under brutal officers, tens of thousands died of mistreatment, disease and starvation.

American millions, invested in Cuba, joined with American sentiment against this brutal mistreatment of our neighbors. McKinley did what he could to secure some measure of self-government for the islanders, after both houses of Congress had declared for Cuban independence. On February 9, 1898, a New York paper printed a facsimile of a private letter written by Señor de Lome, Spanish minister at Washington, describing McKinley as—

a cheap politician who truckled to the masses.

Six days later, the United States battleship *Maine*, in Havana harbor, was sunk by an explosion, with a loss of life of two officers and 266 men. Spain accepted the resignation of its minister, and expressed its regret over the "accident" to the *Maine*. The country believed that the battleship had been destroyed by Spain. "Remember the Maine!" became the moment's symbol. American "yellow" journalism, the sensation press, screeched aloud for war. When McKinley again demanded some measure of self-government for the oppressed Cubans, Spain replied that they would receive "all the liberty they could expect." McKinley reported the facts to Congress on April 11th.

On April 19th, the anniversary of the battle of Lexington, and of the first loss of life in the Civil War, Congress declared Cuba independent; demanded the immediate withdrawal of Spain from the island; and authorized the President to use the army and navy to enforce this resolution. Congress further pledged, by the Teller Resolution, that the government of Cuba should ultimately be left to its own people: that there should be no annexation. These resolutions amounted to a declaration of war against Spain.

The United States Navy, under Secretary Long and Assistant Secretary Theodore Roosevelt of New York, was ready for the emergency. The Far Eastern fleet of the United States, under Commodore George Dewey, was waiting in the British treaty port of Hongkong on the Chinese coast. In less than a week after the war resolutions had been passed, Dewey was steaming with his fleet the 600 miles that separated Hongkong from Manila Bay, in the Spanish Philippines. On the night of April 30th, Dewey, who had once sailed with Farragut, ran his fleet under fire from fortified Boca Grande into Manila Bay. On May 1st, he opened fire on the Spanish fleet anchored off Cavite. Five times he led his ships past the Spanish fleet, and the deadly American fire raked the Spanish ships. By noon, the entire Spanish fleet of ten ships was in flames or had sunk, and the fort of Cavite silenced. The Spanish casualties were 634 men and officers. Not a single American had been killed.

The Atlantic Squadron, under Admiral William T. Sampson, blockaded the coast of Cuba. A Spanish fleet of four cruisers and three torpedo destroyers, under Admiral Cervera, sailed westward ten days after war was declared, from the Cape Verde Islands. The seaboard cities were panicky at rumors of a Spanish attack. Cervera slipped through Sampson's cordon and anchored in the bay at Santiago de Cuba. On the last day of May American look-outs discovered the fleet here, and Sampson at once bottled up the enemy in the landlocked bay.

THE END OF THE WAR

Sampson's fleet included the flagship *New York*, the *Indiana*, and the *Oregon*, which had just steamed 14,000 miles in 66 days from San Francisco around Cape Horn to Florida; and also the Flying Squadron of Commodore Schley, the *Brooklyn*, *Massachusetts*, *Texas* and *Iowa*, with

many smaller ships. After wearisome delays in Florida, caused by official mismanagement, General Shafter had landed in Cuba with about 16,000 troops to conquer Cuba. Among these troops were the famous "Rough Riders," a volunteer cavalry regiment commanded by Colonel Leonard Wood, with Theodore Roosevelt, ex-Assistant Secretary of the Navy, as Lieutenant Colonel. These troops and two brave Negro regiments charged up San Juan Hill and El Caney in the face of Spanish fire, and captured the hills east of Santiago. This was the first two days of July. On the 3rd, Shafter wired Washington that he would need reinforcements to drive General Toral from Santiago.

The Americans were not in an advantageous position. The dreaded tropical fevers had broken out among them. The supplies were insufficient and defective. Corrupt grafting contractors had skimmed on everything needed, furnishing the soldiers faced with a Cuban summer campaign with heavy clothing and spoiled canned meats, which General Miles called "embalmed beef," a phrase that was at once taken up throughout the United States. They were exposed not only to land attack, but to fire from Admiral Cervera's fleet in the harbor below, which could easily drive them from the heights. Ensign Richmond Pearson Hobson volunteered to sink an old ship in the narrow harbor entrance, and bottle up the Spanish fleet. He miscalculated the proper place, sank the ship, and escaped to be captured by the Spanish, without having sealed up the harbor.

On Sunday morning, July 3rd, Admiral Sampson was in conference with General Shafter on the perilous position of the American troops. This was the moment chosen by the Spanish for a break for freedom. The flagship *Maria Theresa* steamed out of the harbor and started running westward along the southern coast of Cuba toward Haiti, with the *Viscaya*, the *Colon*, the *Oquendo* and the destroyers following. Commodore Schley, on his flagship the

Brooklyn, was the ranking American officer in charge. The American ships closed in on the Spanish, and followed in a wild chase down the Cuban coast, pouring a deadly fire into them. The Spaniards replied, with defective guns (and, in the case of the most powerful cruiser, without artillery at all). One by one the Spanish ships were disabled or burned, and headed for the shore breakers. The last of them, the *Christobal Colon*, was beached and burned by the fire of the *Brooklyn* and the *Oregon* forty-five miles west of the mouth of Santiago harbor. One American had been killed, and one seriously wounded: the Spanish fleet was completely destroyed. Within a few days General Toral surrendered Santiago, and the war was over.

Spain sued for peace terms at once. The preliminaries for the peace treaty were signed on August 12th, just in time to prevent General Miles from attacking the Spanish forces on Puerto Rico. Three American "relief expeditions" had reached the Philippines from San Francisco by the last of July, 10,000 men in all, and on August 13th, before news from America reached them, these captured Manila, and raised the Stars and Stripes over the palace of the governor.

THE PHILIPPINE INSURRECTION

The Filipinos had been in revolt against Spain, as well as the Cubans. A year before the *Maine* was destroyed, the Spanish had bought off the leaders of the Philippine revolt, especially Emilio Aguinaldo, with a promise to pay them \$1,000,000, and Aguinaldo had left his home islands for Singapore. In Hongkong, Admiral Dewey had greeted Aguinaldo as an ally to the American cause, had sent him back to the Philippines, and had furnished him with arms from the stock at Fort Cavite. Aguinaldo and his Filipino troops had entered Manila triumphantly with the Americans on August 13th. Aguinaldo now insisted that Dewey had promised to turn the islands back to the Filipinos, as

soon as the Spaniards were driven out. On September 15th the rebel was forced to leave the city of Manila. He proclaimed a Philippine republic, with himself at its head, and announced his determination to maintain his authority by warfare, if necessary.

We were placed in the position of intervening in favor of Cuban independence, and of opposing Philippine independence. The final peace terms with Spain were signed at Paris on December 10, 1898. A war of three months and a half had crushed the shell of Spanish greatness, and by the treaty Spain agreed to withdraw from Cuba, and turn over to us the islands of Puerto Rico, tiny Guam, and the Philippines. Spain was unwilling at first to have the Philippines included in the cession, since the Americans had not entered Manila until after the negotiations for peace had commenced. A promise by the United States to pay \$20,000,000 indemnity for them turned the tide, and the Philippines were surrendered as well.

McKinley showed no intention of temporizing with the Filipino insurrection. He ordered General Otis to see to it that the authority of the United States was extended promptly over all Luzon; and in response the Filipino Congress authorized Aguinaldo to fight the American forces. An open battle took place on February 4, 1899, in which the American troops easily conquered. But they were not so successful against the guerilla warfare in the jungles and swamps of the archipelago. Warfare dragged on for more than two years. Aguinaldo himself was captured by a party of Americans disguised as insurgents two years after the battle between the Americans and the Filipinos before Manila. Two months later he announced that the insurrection was at an end, for reasons never fully made public. The insurrection continued, in spite of his defection; and it was not until April, 1902, that the last native chieftain was

forced to surrender to superior American methods of warfare.

The more liberal opponents of McKinley in America seized on events in the Philippines for a bitter attack on the administration. They protested against the seizure of tropical islands which could never conceivably become states in the Union, and saw in our attempt to conquer the liberty-desiring natives a reversal of the whole principles on which our government had been founded. When, in March, 1901, President McKinley was invested with all the military, civil and judicial authority needed to govern the islands, the critics said the grant was more appropriate to a Roman emperor than to the president of a free republic. By May, 1900, we had an army of more than 50,000 in the islands, and altogether more than 1,026 petty battles took place, with the loss of more than 1,000 Americans, killed, wounded and missing. The Filipinos did not hesitate to use ambush, murder, treachery, torture, and mutilation; and the Americans at times were goaded to similar cruelties.

The election of 1900 was fought on this issue of McKinley imperialism. At the Kansas City national Democratic convention, enormous posters were displayed, reading:

Lincoln abolished slavery; McKinley has restored it.
An American flag floated from the convention ceiling mottoed:

The flag of the republic forever, of an empire never.
The Democrats were thus placed in the contradictory position of endorsing Lincoln and denouncing slavery, which would have more than astonished the loyal Democrats of 1860 and earlier years. Bryan was nominated again, chiefly on this issue of imperialism. He received 155 electoral votes, and McKinley 292, McKinley's popular majority running to nearly a million. The American people were entering into the group of world empires. The situation in the Philippine islands was swallowed, in the words of Senator

Spooner, as "one of the bitter fruits of the war." America was told that this Asiatic possession was part of our "manifest destiny," and the phrase stuck.

Judge William Howard Taft was named Civil Governor of the islands on July 4, 1901, with capable assistants to supervise the education, finance, judicial system, public works and industry of the islands. An effort was made to join the natives in the superimposed government, and three native members were soon added to the commission. Taft made a diligent and efficient governor, and the island soon showed progress that it had never known under Spanish control. Industry and commerce awoke, modern agriculture came in, roads, bridges, harbors and river transportation were improved. The venture was an expensive one, estimates of the total cost to the United States veering from Secretary of War Elihu Root's figure of approximately \$190,000,000 during the first four years of our occupation shrinking before other figures that ranged as high as \$1,000,000,000 for the first six years of occupation.

The government bought from Catholic friars almost half a million acres of church lands for \$7,200,000, which it disposed of to the natives on terms easy to meet. A 1905 census showed a population of 7,635,426, of whom 647,740 were included among primitive head-hunting tribes. The government has repeatedly promised the Filipinos independence, as soon as they are fit for it; but so far the judgment of the administrations at Washington has been that that hour has not yet arrived. In 1935, they were granted a ten-year probational independence.

THE CONSTITUTION AND THE FLAG

Spain withdrew from Cuba on January 1, 1899, and a United States military governor took charge of the reorganization. In November of the next year, a Cuban convention drew up a Constitution modelled on that of the

United States. Congress retained a mild protectorate over the island, by the "Platt Amendment," which provided:

1. That Cuba should never allow a foreign power to colonize or control any of its territory, or lessen its independence.
2. That Cuba should incur no debt which the ordinary resources of the government could not meet.
3. That Cuba should lease or sell to the United States certain desired coaling stations.
4. That the United States reserved the right of intervention, to maintain a government able to protect life, property, and individual liberty.

These stipulations were duly accepted, and the Cuban government held its elections, and organized officially. On May 20, 1902, General Leonard Wood, the American governor, retired in favor of the first Cuban president, Estrada Palma. Barring one intervention lasting from 1906 to 1909, we have merely exercised a general control over the island.

In April, 1900, Puerto Rico was organized as a colony of the United States, with not quite the status of a territory. A governor was appointed by the President of the United States, and a council of 11, 6 of whom were Americans and 5 Puerto Ricans. The natives were permitted to elect a legislature of 35 members, whose legislation was subject to veto by the council. On March 2, 1917, President Wilson signed the bill granting United States citizenship to the Puerto Ricans, and substituting an elective Senate for the appointive Council.

For the first time since the inception of our government, we had colonies which were not recognized as territories of the United States. In May, 1901, in the "Insular Cases," the Supreme Court decided that the Constitution did not follow the American flag, and that Congress might treat these colonies as foreign countries, and impose a tariff duty on products coming from them.

CHAPTER XXXI

THE BIG STICK IN THE WHITE HOUSE

THE UNITED STATES AMONG WORLD POWERS

IT WAS impossible for the United States to remain isolated from the rest of the world, a mere unit on the continent of North America, as it developed into a leading part in the Machine Age. We have seen how the American inventiveness played a leading part in bringing on this age of the telephone and telegraph, the railroad and the steamboat, the automobile and the airplane, the electric light and the moving picture, the radio, television, and the other scientific marvels of the present. In all of these fields, we were innovators, manufacturers of the machine products, and, to begin with, the world's chief consumers of them. We are still, as we have seen, the leading nation in the consumption of all of these things.

But one of the inevitable developments of the Machine Age is that a manufacturing nation can not absorb all of its products, since the workers, who are the main consumers, can never be paid all of the product they manufacture; for a certain amount must be taken out to satisfy the demands of those entitled to rent, interest, and profits on their investments. There must be a market for the surplus manufactures; and any nation which leads in the Machine Age is forced to use the non-manufacturing countries of the world for such a market. The moment our manufacturers are required to sell to such backward non-manufacturing continents as South America, Africa, Asia and Australia, in

competition with manufacturing Europe, we become one of the world powers, our problems intertangled with theirs. The facts of geographical proximity, as related especially to the Spanish colony of Cuba, led us to emerge into world imperialism after a test of strength with Spain, in which we demonstrated our military and naval strength to be vastly superior to the hollow shell of power of the older and less progressive European powers.

The protectorate over Cuba and the possession of Puerto Rico as a colony were logical steps in the expansion of the United States, which had indeed been sought for more than half a century. We had our Pacific frontier reaching from Southern California northward through the state of Washington, and including Alaska. It was a logical step for us to look westward and seek to guard these by Pacific naval stations such as Hawaii, Samoa, and Guam. The matter of the Philippines was less logical, but as inevitable, since the war against Spain threw these islands into our power. American statesmen might regret the shortsighted actions that had cost us Canada and the control over Mexico, San Domingo, and other Latin American countries. Our natural expansion would have been northward and southward. But history is not actuated and motivated by logic, and we faced the 20th century solid in our continental states, and participants in world affairs by our partial control of the West Indies and the Pacific islands as far westward as the Philippines.

The very development of the Machine Age made all this inevitable. The mechanism of our government was based upon the enforced isolation of 1783 conditions. It took from the first Tuesday in November to the 4th of March for the electoral college delegates to assemble, deliberate, select the President, notify him, and for him to reach Washington for his inauguration: and today what took four months then can be accomplished in much less than a week. Railroads,

bus lines, automobiles, airplanes, have made neighbors of us all. Swift postal service, including airmail, the telegraph, the telephone, have brought Florida closer to Boston today than Hartford was to Boston then. The continents have been moved close to one another by steamships, cable, radio telephones, airplanes, until there is no isolation any more. Washington is closer to Capetown, Singapore and Melbourne today than it was to Raleigh and Savannah then. The Machine Age has largely eliminated distance and separation: it has made the globe infinitely smaller and more neighborly: and we can not ignore these newly created neighbors.

Moreover, government systems, which are mere reflections of social conditions, cover far more than matters of citizenship and boundaries. The protection of a government's citizens includes protection of them while travelling abroad: and both for pleasure purposes and as salesmen drumming up international trade our citizens are to be found today in every continent and every backward island and on the remotest waters of the globe. The protection that a government affords includes the protection of the property of its citizens. This does not mean merely the protection of the personal property carried by travellers for pleasure and business throughout the world: it means the protection of investments by our bankers and financiers in every country in the world, the protection of property rights arising out of contracts to secure raw materials in every country in the world, the protection of property rights in lands acquired for purposes of securing raw materials everywhere, and in trading concessions everywhere, and in the monies owed to us out of such contracts and concessions. Wherever an American citizen is, wherever an American dollar is invested, wherever a dollar is owed to an American, there is a tiny part of America: and government today must reach to and include all of these. We can no more

keep out of world imperialism than New York or Virginia in 1783 could remain an isolated self-sustaining commonwealth. We have become interdependent, through the development of the Machine Age: interdependent, and not independent. The brotherhood of man is a fact, not a phrase. Wherever human beings exist, they are potential future citizens of the United States, a potential market for our goods, and, insofar as they owe us money for these goods, they become to that extent parts of the United States. Wars, national prejudices, racial prejudices, embargoes, boycotts, boundary lines, all these may serve for a time to postpone full understanding of how our government has spider-webbed to cover the whole world: but not forever. We are a part of world politics, and can never escape this ampler manifest destiny.

At present, this world organization, which includes primarily the manufacturing and selling nations, and secondarily the raw material and purchasing nations, is torn and divided by racial lines, national lines, autocratic dictatorships, rival forms of government, abortive Leagues of Nations and lesser ententes and alliances, wars, trade wars, custom walls, and the like. Since there is some compulsory unity of interest, ultimately this will express itself, being an economic fact, in a more and more tightly knit world organization of each economic aspect. The consumers of the world will have to form some sort of organization, since to the extent that they are consumers their interests are identical. The capitalists of the world, already practically united in a sort of international entente, will cement their relationships closer; and, to prevent the destruction of capital in warfare, will be forced ultimately to eliminate wars, except for local uprisings no more important in scope than Shays' Whiskey Rebellion or Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia, Nat Turner's slave uprising or the Haymarket Riots. The laborers of the world, less articulate and far less organized

and far more divided by differing standards of living, ultimately must follow the lead of the capitalists. The farmers of the world, and with them all producers of raw materials, will be slowest of all to unite, but they can not forever remain isolated, when all else is cemented. This is not political or economic prophecy: it is the definite tendency of the Machine Age, which can be postponed but never prevented. We need not regard it as a development of the near future; but that near future will be the ever-opening gateway to closer and closer unions, assuming strange and unexpected shapes of course, until in the end something like common sense and efficiency will rule our collective actions.

As leaders of the Machine Age, the United States today is one of the leading world powers. Since wars and raids come, the matter of our protection must never be forgotten, lest we fall victim to organized external greed, as has been the history of so many city-softened cultures in the past. We are protected first of all by our semi-isolated position. We are protected to some extent by an army and the nucleus of a larger army, a navy and the lesser nucleus of a larger navy. We are protected most of all by the strength of our citizenry. Insofar as it is not a propertiless rabble, but a nation of men and women increasingly intelligent, educated, physically strong, possessing enough income not to become a public charge, possessing enough savings to use these to sinew the government with in a moment of need, we have a potential army and navy and police force that other nations will learn to respect, if they do not at the moment. Spain once conquered much of the world: but she crumbled in 1898 at a few rounds of gunfire, because the spirit of self-sufficient independence had disappeared. We have that spirit still, and it is our strongest guard.

Anything that strengthens this spirit strengthens the United States. When we surrender the "immemorial rights of Englishmen," of free speech, free press, free assembly,

jury trial, and the rest, we begin to write our own doom. When we accept "bread and circuses," as the Roman rabble did, instead of the right to have jobs and earn our own livelihood, we start on the downward path. When we permit the rich to become richer among us, and the poor forever poorer, we yield to a collective social disease that will so weaken us that we are worthless in an emergency. We might suffer as much from eliminating rent and interest and profit, and the other means by which the rich become rich and able; but insofar as we keep the greed for wealth within bounds, and make it a common heritage that all are able to share and enjoy successfully, we become again a nation of pioneers, with the world as our West to be settled and colonized and organized into self-respecting and maximum-contributing units in a collective whole that can not be ended in its forward progress.

THE BOXER REBELLION

China had been one of man's three earliest civilizations, along with Egypt and Babylonia; but for centuries it had sunk into a drowsy lethargy that made it of no importance in world affairs. The nations of Europe, who had settled and taken over much of the Americas, Africa, and Australia, began absorbing China in the same way, taking its important ports for commercial and military purposes, and as far as possible Europeanizing the country, with its ancient and long-established Chinese usages. This was resented by a group of energetic nationalists who called themselves the "Boxers." In the summer of 1900, these anti-Europeans took forcible possession of the country around the capital, Peking, and commenced a reign of terror directed at foreigners. They were known to be acting with the secret co-operation of the Dowager Empress of China and many of her highest governmental officials.

The foreign legations were isolated and besieged, and

the minister from Germany was assassinated in a public street in broad daylight. The other foreign diplomats, with their families and their official staffs, four hundred of them altogether, sought sanctuary in the British legation. Here they were besieged for more than two months by more than 2,000 Boxers, supplemented by troops from the imperial Chinese army. Sixty-five of the besieged party were killed and 135 wounded. Meanwhile, a relief army made up of American, British, French, German, Japanese and Russian troops landed on the coast and fought its way into the interior, until they captured Peking. In view of our position in the Philippines, the United States was able to furnish 5,000 troops without delay, and to lead the attack on Peking. We had had a moment of tension with Germany, when the German admiral, Von Diederich, threatened to oppose Dewey at Manila Bay, and was only prevented from keeping Admiral Dewey's fleet out of the bay by the prompt warning of the British that England was in sympathy with the American cause. But all this was forgotten, in the murder of the German minister and the threat against Germans and Americans together with all foreigners, by the indignant Boxers, who saw their country being slowly stolen by European greed. China was forced to pay a huge indemnity for the damage caused by the Boxers. The other nations used this money for general national purposes. The United States, in a fine-spirited gesture, set the fund aside to educate Chinese students in American colleges and universities, as a subtler way of Europeanizing and Americanizing the Chinese.

THE ASSASSINATION OF MCKINLEY

Meanwhile, our internal problems were being solved by the triumphant Republicans with expedition and dispatch, thanks especially to the czar-like powers of Speaker Reed of the House of Representatives, and the cooperation of

the Senate. The Wilson-Gorman Tariff Act of 1894, in Cleveland's last administration, had made only a slight reduction in the tariff. This was wiped out by the Dingley Tariff Act of 1897. The free coinage of silver suddenly became a dead issue, because of natural economic developments. In 1896 occurred the discovery of large deposits of gold in the Klondike territory of Alaska. New gold mines with large yields were opened up in South Africa. The world now had enough gold for its needed currency. No need to bother about silver any more.

A war is usually followed by a period of expansion and prosperity, and the triumphant Spanish-American War of 1898 was no exception. There were bumper crops in both the northern wheat fields and the central and southern corn fields. This put thousands of the unemployed to work, and even permitted the Western farmers to make some progress in paying off their mortgages, leaving them some surplus over to purchase necessities of life, and even luxuries. The union of "the Blue and the Gray" at Manila Bay, Santiago and San Juan Hill cemented at last most of the antipathy between the South and the North, except for a few Southern irreconcilables. It had taken more than three decades to wipe out the memories of Reconstruction; but at last this was accomplished.

Every step toward our becoming a world power, instead of an isolated self-sufficient nation compactly located in the mid-region of North America, had been inevitable; and yet, it had encountered the natural opposition that man always offers to a change of any kind. The steps in our expansion in turn became crystallized into obstacles against further expansion, and one by one these had to crumble away, to permit the further expansion. In 1823 the Monroe Doctrine had been announced. On its surface, this was not a movement toward expansion; it merely warned Europe to keep hands off as far as America was concerned, pledging

us to keep hands off as far as Europe was concerned. We did not assume any additional territory by the doctrine, or any essential new national function. Yet from this doctrine the developments of 65 years had placed us repeatedly in a position of self-appointed overlordship toward the Latin American countries. We had insisted upon being arbiters of disputes between them and nations of the Old World; we had ejected France from Mexico; we were trying ourselves up by trade and commerce with the destinies of the Americas, as far as we were able to, and bringing closer the day when there would be some sort of joint voluntary union of the nations of the Americas, at least for purposes of a united front against European aggression.

The developments of 1898 ended all that. We did not scrap the doctrine in words; and indeed our intervention in Cuba, for all that the blowing up of the *Maine* was the spark that lit the fuse of war, was based upon the doctrine itself. But the development of the Spanish-American War, especially as concerned our taking possession of the Philippines, expanded the doctrine out of all recognition. As far back as 1890, we had assumed a protectorate over the native king of Samoa, along with Great Britain; and this made a definite indentation in our promise to leave European systems of government alone, and by implication to confine ourselves to the Americas. In 1893 we negotiated an annexation treaty with Hawaii, but Cleveland hauled down the flag and we dropped the plan. Hawaii was annexed by joint resolution of the Houses of Congress during the Spanish-American War (July, 1898) and two years later the Hawaiians were made citizens of the United States, with the status of a territory. Participation in world affairs was already a fact, due to our commercial entanglements, and step by step governmental participation followed.

With the acquisition of the Philippines, we took the final step. For these islands were south of Asia, and by no stretch

of the imagination could be regarded as an outlying land properly belonging to the Americas, which we needed to guard our Pacific coast against attack from the west, which was to Europe the East. In the election of 1900, when McKinley was returned to office with a huge majority over Bryan after a campaign based on this very issue of imperialism, the country ratified by this large majority the departure from isolated Americanism to world politics, and for better or for worse we were now a member of the world family of nations, with rights and problems intertwined forever with theirs.

But changes like this do not come peacefully; and there were many Americans who resented bitterly this altered national status. The emotions of these were fanned to insane fever heat by the bitter attacks of the "yellow press" against McKinley. We were at a flood time of boom prosperity. The rebuke of unsound silver and bimetallism in 1896, and the enthusiastic endorsement of McKinley in 1900, brought the hoarded money out of hiding. Politics and big business united more closely than ever before. Trusts began to be organized with increasing rapidity, and on an ever broadening scale. Before the Spanish-American War, the United States had had about 60 of these vast combinations of capital, the capital stock of each running from \$1,000,000 to \$5,000,000. The next three years saw the inception of 183 new trusts, with a total capital stock of \$4,000,000,000—four times as much money as was represented in every corporation formed between Appomattox and the election of McKinley, and in fact one twentieth of the entire wealth of the country. More and more the wealth was becoming concentrated into effective united management. Population, the production of manufactured articles, commerce, grew by leaps and bounds. From 1783 to 1898, the excess of our exports over our imports totalled

\$356,000,000. In one year of the McKinley regime, the exports exceeded the imports by \$664,000,000.

In every department of Machine Age development, the United States was rapidly taking the lead. By 1900, we mined practically one-third of the world's coal, one-third of its iron, more than half of the world's copper. In the export of cotton, corn, and wheat we were consistently outdistancing the rest of the world. We had been a debtor nation, buying from the Old World and giving in return the products of our southern, western and northern fields; we were becoming a creditor nation, selling to the rest of the world our manufactured products, as well as food and textile materials, and receiving in return the world's raw materials and a surplus of gold. American money became invested in the bonds of lands as far off as China and Japan. The wealthy of Europe began to sink their capital in American investments. By 1900, the King of England received more money in annual income from his American investments than George III had hoped to wrest in a year from the thirteen colonies by that taxation without representation that brought on the American Revolution.

In the summer of 1901, a Pan-American Exposition was held at Buffalo, to hail the progress of the United States and the Latin American republics. President McKinley was present at the Exposition, and in an address delivered on September 5th he indicated the attitude of friendly trade and reciprocal good will which he urged the United States to maintain toward the rest of the world. On the next day, as he was the central figure in an enthusiastic reception, an anarchist named Leon Czolgosz, hiding a pistol in a bandaged hand, shot the President. Czolgosz's emotional mind had become over-inflamed by reading the frantic philippics of the "yellow press" against the imperialism of "Czar McKinley," illustrated with cartoons showing the President wearing an imperial crown; and in his deluded mind he

fancied that he was doing his country a favor, in ridding it of a tyrant. After a week the President died. His death was one of the prices the United States had to pay for reactionary opposition to our participation in world affairs. The motive of the owners of the "yellow press" was primarily to sell the sensational newspapers. There is some question whether freedom of the press should be stretched to cover such lying attacks on individuals, practically inciting to assassination—at least, not until the standard of education and emotional stability has reached a far higher level than it had in 1898 or has today.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT IN THE WHITE HOUSE

Theodore Roosevelt, who took McKinley's place, had been born in a little house in mid-New York City on October 27, 1858. He was a son of distinguished old Dutch patroon stock, who had never furnished a President to the United States, Van Buren being of a lower class of Dutch stock. He graduated from Harvard, became a state legislator, and at the celebrated 1884 Republican convention he had opposed Blaine, although he did not bolt the ticket with the Mugwumps to support the Democratic candidate, Cleveland. His health had never been good, and he built it up by two years of intensive ranch life in the West. He had been an efficient Assistant Secretary of the Navy in 1898, after making a record as Commissioner of Police of the City of New York; and he had resigned to organize the Rough Riders, desiring more active participation in the war than from a desk in Washington. He was perhaps the outstanding hero of the war, in addition to Admiral Dewey and Richmond Pearson Hobson; for Admiral Sampson and Commodore Schley had been rather disgracefully in the public press as rival claimants for credit of the victory at Santiago, and none of the American generals in Cuba or elsewhere won great renown. This caused him to be selected

as Republican governor of New York State. He made an aggressive governor, with a standard of official morality so high that he became extremely obnoxious to the Republican machine politicians.

One of the favorite methods of shelving a personality in public life is to place him in a blind alley job, such as the Vice Presidency. For, except in the rare event of the death of a President, the Vice President is practically a nonentity in public affairs. He presides over the Senate, and that is practically all. Roosevelt protested vehemently against the plan, practically up to the meeting of the 1900 Republican national convention in Philadelphia. He yielded at last; and, as he was a hero of the Spanish-American War, with a record as an aggressive and magnetic governor of the pivotal state of New York, he was unanimously chosen to be nothing for the next four years—no more vital in government than an understudy to the leading actor in a play. The machine leaders in New York boasted that they had dug Roosevelt's political grave and laid him in it. Six months after he became Vice President, the assassination of McKinley lifted him into the White House.

Roosevelt soothed the fears of the machine politicians, on the day of his inauguration, by announcing that he intended to carry out the policies of the martyred McKinley. He asked the McKinley cabinet to stay on as his cabinet. And then came the young President's—for Roosevelt was only forty-two—first annual message to Congress, on December 3, 1901. The vigorous document called upon Congress to enact the following reforms:

Federal supervision and regulation of all corporations doing an interstate business.

A Department of Commerce to be created, with a seat in the Cabinet.

Amendment of the Interstate Commerce Act, to prevent special rates to any shipper.

A lowered tariff with Cuba.

Power given to the President to set aside government lands as forest reserves, under the Department of Agriculture.

A navy strengthened by the addition of new battleships and heavy-armored cruisers.

Extension of the civil service to cover all officials employed by the government in the District of Columbia.

A huge system of canals and reservoirs to irrigate the arid West, at government expense.

It was clear that here was a President, like Cleveland, who did not regard the presidency as a mere executive rubber stamp for Congressional enactments, but who intended to see to it that the people's will, as he interpreted it, was enacted into legislation and then carried out.

Roosevelt, the impersonation of energy, travelled widely throughout the various sections of the country, battling vigorously for popular support for his measures. He spoke the direct vigorous language of ordinary Americans, popularizing such sticking phrases as "the criminal rich," "the square deal," "clean as a hound's tooth"; he added "strenuous" to the daily vocabulary of millions of Americans; and his huge grin, displaying all of his teeth, with a hearty "Deelighted!" became known from coast to coast. He was pictured as the Rough Rider President, wearing a cowboy's hat, and became almost overnight a national idol. He was not swayed by popular opinion very far; he went ahead and did what he was sure was right, in spite of hostile criticism. He appointed an efficient Negro collector of the port of Charleston, in spite of bitter opposition throughout the Southern press. The anthracite coal strike of 1902 threatened a coal famine; and Roosevelt brought together mine operators and miners in the White House and persuaded both sides to have the issues in dispute arbitrated.

He was far-sighted enough to realize that the trust or

great combinations of capital had come to stay, as an integral part of our economic structure. Repeatedly he announced that no honest business had anything to fear from his activities. At the same time he insisted that trusts which had a practical monopoly on necessities of life, such as transportation, coal, oil, beef and sugar, must not charge an unreasonably high toll on the public for this monopoly, but must be regulated by the government. He had his Attorney General initiate more than 40 suits against industrial and railroad trusts, seeking their dissolution. Very few of these "trust-busting" suits were won by the government, but the effect of starting them was in the long run beneficial, in teaching accumulated capital that the public had rights which even the government intended to protect. Roosevelt was pictured as using his "big stick" against the trusts: and though the beating turned out to be more noise than mayhem, it had its effect in calling for a higher and less greedy standard of conduct from the huge monopolies.

Roosevelt believed in the right of labor to organize, and deal with organized capital through collective bargaining. He stood for a "square deal" for the laborer; and therefore favored the strike as an economic weapon, when other efforts had failed. He was opposed to violence and wanton destruction of property in labor disputes, and held that no man had a right to interfere with another man's right to work when and where he decided to. As a naturalist and nature lover, he regarded conservation of our national resources as "the most vital internal question of the United States." Andrew Johnson had estimated that it would take 600 years for the West to become populated as the East was. But Congress, alarmed at the reckless deforestation of the West, in 1891 authorized President Harrison to withdraw timberlands from public sale, at his discretion. Roosevelt secured from Congress an extension of this right of withdrawal to cover mineral lands as well. He withdrew

from sale more than 100,000 acres of coal lands in north-
erly Alaska.

The result of Roosevelt's conservation policy was to bring our reserved mineral and forest lands up to more than the combined size of France and Holland, an empire of more than 150,000,000 acres. We had squandered our great Western resources, which might have been used to furnish, through mineral royalties, more money to meet government expenses than the high tariff. The iron deposits of Minnesota, Wisconsin and Michigan, which the government let slip from its control, are estimated by the United States Steel Corporation to be worth more than \$1,000,000,000. More than one-fourth of the cultivatable acreage of the United States, which reaches the vast total of 800,000,000 acres, was owned by some 47,000 people in 1900, less than one-twentieth of one per cent of the population. The country's annual mineral output is in excess of \$2,000,000,000 a year; and a reasonable royalty on this would have produced a government income greater than the tariff brings in. But this squandering of the national domain took place before Roosevelt's time, and he did his best to stop the process.

In 1902, Roosevelt secured the passage of a Reclamation Act, by which the proceeds of sales of land in 16 Western states and territories—the so-called "cowboy states"—should go into a special fund to provide irrigation, instead of into the general Treasury funds. A method was provided of selling irrigated lands to settlers on a 10-year installment repayment plan, these funds in turn going into the irrigation fund. Lands formerly worth a cent or two per acre for grazing have become worth several hundred dollars an acre for agriculture.

THE PANAMA CANAL

In 1850, the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty had provided that any canal across the Isthmus of Panama should be under the

joint protection of Great Britain and the United States, should be unfortified, and be opened to international sea traffic. In 1881, a French company, organized by Ferdinand de Lesseps, began actual construction on such a canal, a work stopped chiefly by unhealthy conditions in the Panama tropics. American interests were alert to the possibilities of a canal across Nicaragua. The Spanish-American War, with the 14,000 mile voyage of the *Oregon* from San Francisco to the Gulf, had brought home to us how vital the canal was for our national defense.

John Hay, Secretary of State, in 1901, negotiated with Great Britain the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, by which England surrendered its rights under the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty. A commission appointed to weigh the relative merits of the two routes in the same year reported in favor of the Nicaragua project. But the defunct French Company was anxious to sell its rights and machinery to the United States. In June, 1902, after a tense fight, Congress voted that the Panama route should be chosen, provided the President could secure all rights to the route "within a reasonable time." If not, the canal was forthwith to be built through Nicaragua.

Roosevelt successfully negotiated an agreement with the French Company, by which all its rights and properties were to be sold to the United States for \$40,000,000. He offered the republic of Colombia \$10,000,000 in cash and a yearly rental of \$250,000 for control over a six-mile strip of land across the isthmus and the right to build the canal. The Senate of Colombia turned down the Hay-Herran Treaty, embodying this tentative agreement. Representatives of the state of Panama, a part of the Colombian republic, felt indignant at this decision, which would have thrown the canal into Nicaragua. They conducted some secret negotiations in Washington, when the Colombian Senate adjourned in October, 1903, without ratifying the treaty. United

States gunboats proceeded to Panama, with instructions to permit no armed force to land on Panama soil. On November 3rd a genteel uprising took place in Panama, with our marines exercising a maternal protection over the peaceful effort. The Colombian officials were exiled politely out of the state of Panama, which proceeded to form an independent republic. Within a week the minister of this young republic, Bunau-Varilla, was in Washington, and on November 18, 1903, the Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty was adopted, providing for a 10-mile strip across the isthmus, acquired by outright purchase.

Roosevelt was accused of instigating the revolution, and critics of his administration spoke of the transaction as an "ineffaceable blot of dishonor" on its record. We had an 1846 treaty with Colombia binding us to protect "free transit" across the isthmus, and it was easy to argue that this justified preserving free transit by eliminating Colombia from the picture. Roosevelt always maintained that he did nothing to instigate the revolution, and as far as recorded history goes it was merely a fortunate chance for us that the secession took place at the time most advantageous to our plans for building the canal. However, the United States government paid Colombia, in 1932, the sum of \$25,000,000—to end international criticism and promote better relationships with the Pan-American republics.

The actual work on the canal started in May, 1904. It was not until June, 1906, that Congress decided on a high-level lock canal instead of a sea-level canal, and the actual building was not completed until 1914. The canal shortened the journey from New York to San Francisco by 7,700 miles, reducing it from 13,000 miles to 5,300 miles, and made a similar saving in other related distances. The Suez Canal, build in 1869, paid for itself in 7 years, from toll fees on ship traffic passing through it. The Panama Canal cost about \$375,000,000. Tolls exceed operating expenses

annually, but the canal is still far from paying for itself. The actual construction was under the direction of Colonel George W. Goethals, Chairman of the Canal Commission. The equally important work of sanitation was under the direction of Dr. William C. Gorgas, another Alabamian, who made the unhealthy fever-ridden strip of land as healthy as any part of the United States.

In view of the fact that Brazil, Argentina and Chile were largely food-producing countries, in competition with the United States, and of our constant high-handed attitude of guardianship over these and other Latin American republics, the bulk of the trade of these countries went chiefly to England, Germany and France. The situation was sketched by Secretary of State Elihu Root, who reported that in Rio de Janeiro, in Brazil, the following ships were seen in the harbor:

1,785 English

657 German

349 French

7 American, two of them in distress

In 1900, the South American countries imported \$500,000,000 worth of goods. Less than 10 percent, or about \$41,000,000, of these came from the United States. Relationships with the Latin American countries, down to 1932, continued rather strained, due to our interventions in Nicaragua, Haiti and Mexico. But there is a determined effort to improve these, and from a selfish point of view we have everything to gain and little to lose by altering their aloof semi-hostility to a warm friendship.

The little republic of San Domingo, on the eastward half of the island of Haiti, at this time got into trouble with its European creditors. Roosevelt, to prevent European action, appointed a receiver to manage the bankrupt Treasury of the island. This amounted to a practical protectorate over the country. It went beyond the wording of the Monroe

Doctrine, but was a logical outgrowth of it. Carried all the way, it would call for a virtual protectorate on our part over all of the Latin American countries. The basis of a more lasting and closer relationship would more probably come from voluntary action on their part, seeking closer alliance.

ROOSEVELT'S SECOND TERM

Roosevelt had become unpopular chiefly among the machine politicians, who had never liked him, by his attacks on the trusts and the railroads. He had scolded the Senate for not ratifying reciprocity treaties which he had had negotiated, in carrying out McKinley policies. As the presidential election of 1904 drew near, a movement started among the influential Senators to replace him as Republican standard-bearer by Senator Marcus Hanna of Ohio, who had been campaign manager for McKinley's first election. Hanna died in February, before the convention assembled, and all opposition evaporated. Roosevelt received a unanimous nomination.

The St. Louis Democratic convention still clung to the corpse of its free silver attitude of 1896. But Bryan, the liberal, had been decisively defeated twice, and it was thought that the party's best chance lay in selecting a conservative Easterner. The candidate selected was Judge Alton B. Parker of the New York Court of Appeals, the highest appellate court in New York State, similar to the Supreme Court in many states. He accepted by telegram to the convention, stipulating that he would run only on a gold standard platform. Bryan, still important in party affairs, protested; but his protest was voted down. There was nothing in the record or personality of Parker to attract votes, and Roosevelt was more the popular idol than ever. The popular majority for the Rough Rider President was 2,541,734, a high water mark. The electoral vote was 336 to 140. The Solid South remained solid still for the Demo-

crats; but the border states of Maryland and Missouri went Republican.

Just before his triumphant reelection, Roosevelt announced, when it was pointed out that this election would amount to a full second term, that he would not be a candidate for reelection. Roosevelt became more strenuous than ever. He had Congress pass the Hepburn Rate Bill in 1906, giving actual teeth to the Interstate Commerce Act, by granting to the commission important powers to regulate rates. Inspired by a novel written by the Socialist Upton Sinclair, called *The Jungle*, Roosevelt started a thorough investigation of the packing-houses of Chicago, Omaha and Kansas City, which resulted in more stringent government regulation of meat-packing. That same year saw the passage of a Pure Food and Drugs Act.

The Czar of Russia had proposed a meeting of all nations recognized by Russia at The Hague, in the Netherlands, in 1899, to discuss reduced armaments, a more humanized warfare, and arbitration as a substitute for war in international disputes. Roosevelt referred to the permanent Court of Arbitration set up by this first Hague Peace Conference the problem of European collection of debts from the South American republics. In 1904 Roosevelt suggested a second Hague Peace Conference, but the Russo-Japanese war caused it to be postponed until three years later, when it met in a splendid new palace built for the purpose by the American steel capitalist, Andrew Carnegie.

Russia and Japan finally went to war over the matter of the possession of Chinese ports in Manchuria and Korea, and Roosevelt invited them to meet at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, in August of 1905, to arrive at a peace. In 1896 the Swedish inventor of the explosive dynamite, Alfred Nobel, left his fortune to be devoted to annual prizes to the persons who had made the chief contributions to international peace, science, and literature. Roosevelt received the

Nobel Peace Prize in 1906, for his efforts toward ending the Russo-Japanese War.

THE ELECTION OF TAFT

To succeed himself, Roosevelt strongly urged the selection of his Secretary of War, William Howard Taft. Roosevelt was as powerful as Jackson had been sixty-eight years before, when he named Van Buren to succeed himself. And Taft was nominated on the first ballot. William Jennings Bryan was the Democratic candidate for the third time, and lost, 162 electoral votes to 321. He had no real issue to run on, Free Silver was dead, imperialism had become the accepted American policy, and the Roosevelt trust-busting policy took the last thunder from Bryan's oratory. Missouri again went Republican, although Maryland swung back into the Democratic column, and the Republicans lost only Nebraska, Nevada and Colorado of the Northern and Western states.

With a successor in office pledged to carry out his policies, Theodore Roosevelt departed for the eastern part of Africa, to hunt big game for the Smithsonian Institution exhibition halls. In 1910, at the end of the hunting expedition, he became for a time the central figure in the civilized world. In Egypt, he scolded Great Britain for its treatment of beggar children and other matters, and was reminded that conditions at home in America were not perfect, what with lynchings in the South and other unsocial manifestations. His tour through Italy, Austria, France, Germany, Holland and England was one ovation. He was greeted by the monarchs of Europe with honors such as no private citizen had ever received. Before the University of Cairo, the Sorbonne in France, the University of Berlin, and Oxford, he delivered scholarly addresses which startled all those who still thought that America was a land of uncultured people. He was the American representative at the

funeral of Edward VII in London. New York went wild when he landed, on June 18, 1910.

All was not well in the United States he returned to. In spite of his early trust-busting, the monopolies had grown larger and stronger than ever; and it was clear that Taft did not share in the crusading zeal of his strenuous predecessor in the presidential chair, but sided rather with the conservatives. A group of radical Republican Senators from the Middle West, La Follette of Wisconsin, Cummins and Dolliver from Iowa, Clapp from Minnesota, Bristow from Kansas, Beveridge from Indiana, led a movement within the Republican party, to seek to awaken the political conscience of the American voters, toward some curbing of the excessive powers of the monopoly owners. This was the era of "muck-raking," in which such magazines as *Collier's*, the *Outlook*, the *American*, *McClure's*, *Everybody's*, the *Cosmopolitan*, revealed the corruption in big business and politics. The methods advocated by these reformers included first of all a direct participation of the people in the mechanism of government, in direct primaries instead of conventions for the nomination of candidates for public office; in the initiative or the people's right to propose legislation by petition; in the referendum, or the people's right to pass upon laws enacted by state or national legislatures; in the recall of public servants held unfit by the public; in the short ballot, or a limitation of the number of officials to be voted for—all these collectively often called the Oregon system, since most of them developed in that progressive Western state; as well as in the strict national regulation of big business, and the popular election of senators and judges. These were all reforms in the method of conducting the government, and at this time it was believed that a reformed method of government would secure a government and a social system which gave justice to all and inequality to none.

This was the situation which confronted the country, when the ex-presidential wielder of the Big Stick returned from his African hunting expedition.



Theodore Roosevelt in Africa

CHAPTER XXXII

THE PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENT

GROWTH OF THE PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENT

THE Republican platform of 1908 had committed the party to a downward revision of the tariff. President Taft called Congress in special session on March 15th following, for this purpose. The Payne Tariff Bill, sponsored by Sereno E. Payne, a New York Representative, included material reductions in important items. But Senator Nelson W. Aldrich of Rhode Island led the Senate fight for the restoration of the higher figures; and the compromise Payne-Aldrich Tariff Act, passed in August and signed by Taft, was practically a reaffirmation of the Dingley Tariff Act of 1897.

This bill had been passed over the votes of the Democrats, who were joined by seven Republican Senators and twenty Republican Representatives in their opposition—the so-called “insurgents.” In a mid-Western speech, Taft praised the tariff act as the best in our history, which caused him to be classed at once among the “stand-patters,” as the conservatives were called. It was the old conflict between the Stalwarts of Conkling’s time and the Mugwumps. Moreover, Taft’s Secretary of the Interior, Richard A. Ballinger, was apparently favoring the big lumbering interests of the Northwest in his administration of the national timber lands; and Taft’s defense of this member of his cabinet made him still more unpopular with the insurgents.

In some ways Taft was in sympathy with the progressive

activities of his distinguished predecessor. But he lacked the magnetic charm of Roosevelt, and alienated progressive support throughout his entire term of office. Life under Roosevelt had been an adventure; under Taft, it seemed dull. He was a ponderous judge, rather than a gallant leader of great causes. The radical movement was moving steadily ahead, while he, conservative by nature, training and associations, at best stepped tentatively and doubtfully far behind the vanguard of the country's growing progressive feeling.

The insurgents in Congress centered their attack first on Speaker "Uncle Joe" Cannon in the House, a familiar figure with his long black cigar tilted upward, and a man quite as czar-like in his practices as Czar Reed had been. Hitherto the Speaker had been Chairman of the powerful House Rules Committee; Cannon was removed from this important post, the size of the committee was doubled, and it was made elective and not appointive.

In the Congressional by-election of 1910, the Republican majority of 47 in the House was overturned, by the selection of a Democratic majority of 54. The Democrats elected governors in the normally Republican states of Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, and Connecticut. Not since Cleveland and 1892 had the Democrats been in control of either house of Congress; and it was an ill augury for the 1912 presidential election.

The insurgents, both Senators and Representatives, met on January 21, 1911, in the house of Senator La Follette of Wisconsin in Washington, and laid out a definite program for capturing the Republican presidential convention to take place in the next year. They organized the National Progressive Republican League, for the promotion of more popular government. La Follette was soon chosen as their leader. In a conference held in Chicago in October, they proposed La Follette as the logical candidate

for the 1912 presidency on the Republican ticket. La Follette had been three times governor of his home state, and his whole life had been devoted to the advocacy of radical political and economic measures, usually with entire success in Wisconsin. He had had railroad rates cut down to 2 cents a mile in his home state, and had broken the railroad lobby which controlled the legislature there. Wisconsin, under his leadership, had adopted the direct primary instead of the convention system, a graduated income tax, significant laws favoring labor, and publicity of Wisconsin Congressional activities for the information of the home constituents.

Roosevelt at first had assured La Follette of his support, and had definitely announced in 1904 that he would not be a candidate for the presidency thereafter. But he felt that the Taft administration was a virtual betrayal of his causes, and he was moved by an ambition to be President again. The "New Nationalism" which the Progressives advocated had been expressed by Roosevelt in a famous speech at Ossawatimie, Kansas, a year before the Progressives brought it before the country. Yet Roosevelt did not ally himself at first with the National Progressive Republican League. More and more, however, the Eastern Progressives urged him to become the Progressive standard-bearer, fearing the extreme radicalism of La Follette.

La Follette began to sense that the tide was turning against him. He attacked Roosevelt vehemently, claiming that Roosevelt in reality had not been more progressive than Taft on the matter of the tariff or the trusts, and claiming that Roosevelt's "rhetorical radicalism" was merely an expression of an insatiable longing to fill the President's chair again. Early in 1912, seven Progressive governors joined in an appeal to Theodore Roosevelt to head the growing Progressive movement. Roosevelt, on February 24th, characteristically announced that his "hat

was in the ring," and entered openly into the contest for the Republican nomination, as a Progressive candidate.

THE CONVENTIONS OF 1912

The Republicans convened in Chicago, on June 18th, to select a presidential candidate. A dozen states had adopted direct primaries for the presidency; and the delegates from all of these were committed overwhelmingly to Roosevelt. The administration had control of the Republican machine in the Southern states, which were still the solid Democratic South. This formed a large block of administration delegates, although in many of these states the Progressives had contesting delegations clamoring to be seated—neither representing any actual voting strength.

The seats of about 250 of the Taft delegates were contested by the Progressives. The Roosevelt delegates were voted out, by the application of machine control called the "steam-roller" by the Progressives. A Taft permanent chairman for the convention was elected, by the close balloting of 558 to 502. Roosevelt, at this demonstration that the cards were stacked against himself as Progressive choice, bolted the Republican convention, announcing that—any man nominated by the convention as now constituted would be merely the beneficiary of a successful fraud.

At the suggestion of their belligerent leader, the Progressives returned to their constituents and organized a new party, which convened in Chicago on August 5th. The movement took on the emotional fervor of a crusade, which stirred the two thousand delegates and their fervent supporters massed around the convention hall. The platform embodied the full Progressive demands for radical political, social and industrial reform, and enlisted the support of prominent social workers the length and breadth of the land. *Onward, Christian Soldiers* and the *Battle Hymn of*

the Republic mingled their religious zeal with the hysteric shouts of the devoted crusaders, as Theodore Roosevelt was nominated for President on the Progressive platform, with Governor Hiram Johnson, a stalwart Progressive from California, as his running mate.

This was the chance for the Democrats, with the Republicans, who had been triumphant since 1896, split into two bitterly warring camps. They met at Baltimore on June 25th, Speaker Champ Clark of Missouri and conservative protectionist Senator Oscar W. Underwood of Alabama as the leading conservative candidates, and Governor Woodrow Wilson of New Jersey as the more liberal candidate. William Jennings Bryan dominated the convention, at first supporting Champ Clark, and opposing Underwood as a man supported by Wall Street money. Unfortunately, Wilson had expressed in a private letter the wish that Bryan could be "knocked into a cocked hat," and this at first alienated Bryan from Wilson. It was clear that Bryan wished to preserve the deadlock, trusting to be chosen himself as the dark horse at the last moment. When Clark's strength grew more and more, Bryan turned on him, accusing him of being a candidate supported by Wall Street money—though the very supporters had been Bryan backers in two previous campaigns.

The convention saw through the tactics of Bryan, designed to keep the deadlock permanent and arrange for his own final nomination. It turned overwhelmingly to the "scholar from New Jersey," a Virginian who had been professor of history at Princeton, president of the University, and mildly radical governor of New Jersey for one term. Wilson was nominated, and conducted a dignified campaign of education, leaning toward progressive attitudes on important matters. Roosevelt and Taft expended their fire against each other, in a campaign of mutual vilification. The election resulted in a victory for Wilson by a decided ma-

jority in the electoral college, although in popular vote he was 2,000,000 behind the combined votes of the two opponents. The Democrats carried the Senate by a slender majority, since Senators are elected for six years and only one third of them are up for election at any biennial election; while they carried the House 291 to 144. Taft managed to secure only the electoral votes of Utah and Vermont, a mere 8; Roosevelt was winner in California, Michigan, Minnesota, Pennsylvania, South Dakota, and Washington, with a total of 88 electoral votes; while Wilson ran up the unprecedented total of 435 electoral votes, carrying all the rest of the states. The Socialist candidate, Eugene V. Debs, polled 901,725 popular votes, but did not secure any electoral votes in this or in any campaign down to the present.

THE NEW FREEDOM

President Wilson's inaugural address was exquisitely worded and flawlessly pronounced. It summoned all America to a movement to lift the national life to a high plane of enlightened individual conscience, in a cooperative non-partisan effort of universal dedication. He asked the aid of all patriotic forward-looking men, and promised not to fail in leadership, if they did not fail to give him their advice and support. Practical politicians were more than skeptical of his ability to conduct himself in practical politics. He had made a name for himself opposing the political machine in New Jersey; but Washington was a far different place from Trenton, and the "schoolmaster in politics" might find rough going.

But Wilson had long been used to dominating men, and one by one he subjected cabinet, the Senate, the House, and even the lobbyists, to his quiet insistent way of doing things. He made as his Secretary of State, to the country's vast misgivings, William J. Bryan, who for sixteen years had

been the forlorn hope leader of the Democratic party. It was generally expected that the powerful Bryan would overshadow even the President; but the very reverse proved true. Bryan was a pronounced pacifist, and he resigned from the State portfolio in mid-1915, as a protest against the severity of the second *Lusitania* note, to be succeeded by Robert Lansing of New York. The general opinion was that Bryan chose the wrong time to resign, and failed to make out a good case for himself.

The Secretary of War, Lindley M. Garrison, was a very able man; and six months after Bryan's resignation he too left the cabinet, since he desired a strong national army in place of the skeleton army supported by the state militia. Franklin K. Lane of California, Secretary of the Interior, and William G. McAdoo, Secretary of the Treasury, were both exceptionally strong choices. On Garrison's resignation, Newton D. Baker of Ohio was appointed Secretary of War. He too was a pronounced pacifist, but he made an able custodian of the War portfolio during the World War. The other cabinet choices were unimportant but efficient.

To the surprise of the practical politicians, Wilson turned out to be the most quietly domineering master of Congress since the hour of Thomas Jefferson. Like all the strong presidents, especially Washington, Jackson, Lincoln, Cleveland, and Roosevelt, he regarded the President as the natural leader of his party, and Congress, the party's and the nation's chosen legislators. He was one of the great phrasemakers of our history, and at the time of his inauguration he gathered the more significant phrases from his campaign speeches into a volume called *The New Freedom*, which expressed more completely his personal platform. It was a plea for a return to free competition in industry, and full publicity of the administration of public office. The first was a very American doctrine, but the development of the Machine Age up to 1912 and since that time has not fa-

vored the harmlessness from the public standpoint of free competition.

I take my stand absolutely, where every progressive ought to take his stand, on the proposition that private monopoly is indefensible and intolerable.

It was impossible to reconcile this with the principle of free competition. But greater matters soon engaged his attention. He spoke directly to the invisible government of the forces of special privilege, and warned them that the time had come when the people proposed to act for themselves, through an elected President and Congress. It was the voice of a master, and not of a mere rubber stamp.

The revision of the tariff, in a downward direction, was one of the promises of the Baltimore platform. On April 7th, Wilson assembled Congress in extra session for this purpose. Wilson showed his knowledge of historical precedent by reverting to the precedent established by the second President, John Adams, and appearing in person to read his message to Congress. His first message dealt exclusively with the tariff. As opposed to the idea of protection, he favored making American workmen better than any in the world by seeing that they competed with the shrewdest workmen in the world.

The Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee of the House was Oscar Underwood of Alabama, a Wilson opponent for the Democratic nomination, and a protectionist iron Congressman. The Underwood Tariff Bill, sponsored by him after innumerable compromises, passed both Houses, although the Louisiana protectionist "sugar" Senators voted against it, on account of its provision of free sugar after a three years' period. The general level of tariff duties was brought down to 26 percent, as opposed to 39.4 percent under the Wilson-Gorman Tariff Act, and slightly more under the Payne-Aldrich Act of 1909. Actual necessities, such as food, farming implements, sugar, wool, coal,

cattle, lumber, cottons, and eggs, were reduced or put entirely on the free list; while the tax on luxuries was left largely unchanged. A graduated income tax, ranging from 1 percent to 6 percent, was provided, to make up the anticipated deficit.

The World War, which commenced the year after the bill was enacted, more than doubled our exports, and hence no ill effects of the lowered tariff on national revenues was observed.

OTHER INTERNAL REFORMS

The matter of currency reform had been agitating the minds of legislators since the Spanish-American War. In the summer of 1913, the Glass-Owen Bill was introduced by Congressman Carter Glass of Virginia in the House, and by Senator Owen of Oklahoma in the Senate. This bill, better known after its passage as the Federal Reserve Act, divided the United States into twelve federal banking districts, each containing a federal reserve bank centrally located. The national banks were required to become members of the Federal Reserve System. The system was managed by a Federal Reserve Board, consisting of the Secretary of the Treasury, the Comptroller of the Currency, and five appointed members. The intricate system proved a complete success, and distinctly steadied the finances of the government during the World War. It only broke down at the end of the Hoover administration, due to the succession of bank holidays starting in the Middle West, which Hoover's successor was forced to make national, to bolster up the national banking system.

There was no break between the special tariff session of Congress and the regular session, scheduled for December. Wilson, "like a schoolmaster," kept Congress steadily at work for the next eight months, without any recess. Among the important achievements of this session was the Clayton

Anti-Trust Act, which strengthened the Sherman Anti-Trust Act of 1890 in many ways. It prohibited "interlocking directorates"—the parallel memberships in corporation directories, which was one of the chief ways found to evade the earlier law—in the case of highly capitalized trust companies and banks; forbade injunctions in labor disputes

unless necessary to prevent irreparable injury to property rights for which there is no remedy at law; and otherwise made the former law more stringent. Of course, the qualifying clause could be used to negative the whole prohibition of injunctions in labor disputes, if a court so construed; and often has so been used. Nor did it satisfy the radicals, since it did not permit regulation by the commission of the issuance of stocks and bonds by a corporation doing an interstate business, which they urged. They said its bullets were made of dough. The conservatives objected to it, as a "muddle and a sham" which would only upset business conditions.

Congress ground out a number of other important measures, including an act creating a Federal Trade Commission to look into the actions of "big business"; an Industrial Employers' Arbitration Act; an act covering the transfer of registry of foreign vessels to the American merchant marine; an Alaskan Railway Act; an act making the Philippine Senate elective; and the Smith-Lever Act, establishing the principle of federal aid to set up farm bureaus.

More important than any of these was the repeal of the Panama Canal tolls. The canal was scheduled to be opened before autumn of 1914. Toward the end of Taft's administration, in August of election year, Congress had passed a bill providing that American coastwise vessels need not pay tolls through the canal. Acting on the third clause of the 1901 Hay-Pauncefote Treaty,

The canal shall be free and open to the vessels of commerce and war of all nations . . . on terms of en-

tire equality, so that there shall be no discrimination against any such nation . . . in respect of the conditions or charges of traffic or otherwise.

The British objected that the exemption to American coastwise ships enacted in 1912 violated this; the State Department maintained that "all nations" meant "all *foreign* nations". The issue was unimportant to Great Britain in any large way. We had a treaty with Great Britain, signed in 1908, which bound us to arbitrate any dispute. In March, 1914, Wilson appeared in person before Congress, and in a three-minute speech demanded the repeal of the obnoxious law. He hinted that there were matters of even greater importance which were the subject of discussion between himself and Great Britain or other nations, and that the continuance of this minor favor to the American coastwise trade would jeopardize the successful handling of these other matters by negotiation. Congress at once repealed the act, at the dictates of the domineering "schoolmaster in the White House," without even asking what other matters he referred to.

In August of 1914, the American ship *Ancon* steamed through the locks, filled with prominent Americans and inhabitants of Panama. The canal had to be closed soon thereafter to remove landslides. The World War cut into navigation through it, also. The cost of repairs exceeded the tolls, at first. It began slowly to show profits. It has not yet paid 2 percent interest on the enormous investment, but may ultimately. Goethals was made the first governor of the Panama Canal Zone.

INTERVENTION IN MEXICO

In the by-election of 1914, the Democrats lost several disputed governorships, and their majority in Congress was cut down. In addition to unrest over the tariff law enacted, a strike was taking place in Colorado which assumed the

dimensions of a small civil war, marked by "mourning pickets" in front of 26 Broadway, New York City, the Standard Oil building. Worst of all was popular discontent at the administration's Mexican policy.

At the end of February, 1913, President Madero of Mexico was assassinated, followed by a week's bloody street fighting in Mexico City. The power was seized by a revolutionary general, Victoriano Huerta, a man with some Indian blood, in common with so many Mexicans, described by his enemies as dissipated and ruthless. Twenty-six foreign nations recognized Huerta. Our minister recommended this. Wilson had his own ideas. He sent a special agent, John Lind of Minnesota, to Mexico, to seek to settle the anarchy general in the tropic republic. In a dictatorial fashion, the United States offered to recognize a Mexican President elected in a free and fair election, in which Huerta was barred.

Huerta responded that 22 out of the 27 Mexican states recognized him; that he had an army of 80,000 men; and that he had no intention of stepping out of power. Two weeks before the general elections in Mexico, he marched into the assembled national legislature of Mexico, arrested and jailed a hundred of the deputies, and named himself dictator. This was some years before the dictators in Russia, Italy and Germany had appeared on the modern scene of history. England, France and Germany, with valuable investments in Mexico, urged the United States, under the Monroe Doctrine, to restore some sort of order in the buzzing hornets' nest.

"Watchful waiting," to use one of Wilson's apt phrases, was our policy at first. In 1912, we announced an embargo on the shipment of arms and munitions of war into Mexico. In 1914, Wilson raised this, as far as the shipment of arms and munitions to an opponent of Huerta, General Carranza, was concerned. An Englishman named Benton was

murdered in the troubled country, and this caused added pressure to be laid on the United States to intervene. On April 9, 1914, American sailors from the launch *Dolphin* landed at the port of Tampico to purchase needed gasoline. Huerta's soldiers jailed the landing party. Rear Admiral Mayo demanded the release of the prisoners, and an apology in the shape of a salute to the American flag. Huerta released the men, but refused to salute the flag, holding that it had proved itself hostile to him throughout. Secretary of the Navy Josephus Daniels of North Carolina, a county-seat editor who showed some ability in the cabinet, ordered 11 warships and 3 cruisers to Tampico.

Wilson appeared again before Congress, on April 20th, asking permission to use the armed force of the United States against Huerta, to maintain our dignity and authority. He was granted the power, 337 to 37. Our troops were ordered to capture Vera Cruz. Admiral Fletcher seized the customs house with a landing party of marines, the "devil dogs" of the armed forces of the United States. The *Utah* and the *Florida* shelled the arsenal. Seventeen Americans were killed. Admiral Fletcher took control of Vera Cruz.

Argentina, Brazil and Chile (the "A. B. C. powers") offered to arbitrate the dispute, to prevent another Mexican War. In session at Niagara Falls, Canada, they urged Huerta to resign. In July he left his country on the German cruiser *Dresden*, and two months later the American force was withdrawn from Vera Cruz, and our watchful waiting was resumed. Conditions in Mexico grew more unsettled, as Carranza battled his way to power against the revolutionary general Villa, described as a bandit by his opponents. In July, 1915, Carranza took Mexico City, and slowly the Villa army weakened. On March 10, 1916, Villa troops crossed the Rio Grande with shouts of "Death to Americans!" and killed 7 soldiers and 12 civilians in Columbus, New Mexico.

Carranza gave us permission to send an armed force into Mexico, to punish Villa. Villa slipped away, and Carranza requested us to withdraw. The United States withdrew. Carranza slowly quieted the disturbances, and in March, 1917, was elected president of Mexico under a new Constitution. We had emerged from the situation with no credit to ourselves, and with added dislike on the part of the Latin American countries.

Meanwhile, affairs in Europe began to occupy the entire stage.



Villa

PART VI
THE UNITED STATES AND
THE WORLD WAR

CHAPTER XXXIII

THE WORLD WAR AND NEUTRALITY

THE OUTBREAK OF THE WAR

CONDITIONS for continued international peace throughout the civilized world seemed fairly good, between 1900 and 1914. The political economists, who were recognized by the organized wealth of the world as the most intelligent and scientific commentators on matters of national and international profit and loss, were almost a unit in declaring that war was a suicidal folly, which destroyed property by wholesale and built up mountainous burdens of debt that mankind could never pay off. Organized labor throughout the world, including the political group of Socialists who were far stronger in the Old World than in the New, were a unit in opposing it, holding that warfare meant the killing off of the working classes as cannon fodder, and the destruction of all forward-looking movements in a frantic reversion to barbarism and savagery. Women, who were emerging more and more into world political and civic affairs, saw war as a man's suicidal game, which gained nothing for mankind, and cost much. Religious bodies, world brotherhood groups, pacifist associations, all opposed it. As the fact of international interrelations became more and more firmly established in the minds of men, and as peaceful day succeeded peaceful day, the prospect of a world war such as the Napoleonic period had witnessed seemed more and more remote.

There were warning voices, however, who pointed out

that just under the surface the hostile forces were surging, and that certain causes, unless they were eliminated, were sure sooner or later to precipitate mankind into another holocaust of destructive world warfare. Certain students of the Machine Age pointed out that the development of manufacturing in country after country (England, France, the United States, Germany, much of Europe, Japan) constantly limited the number of outlets for the surplus of manufactured goods; and that artfully stimulated national rivalries and jealousies would be used to have the possession of disputed outlets fought for, rather than settled by the saner method of arbitration.

The power of the unofficial overlords of the Machine Age was great; but it could never wholly supplant the inherited rivalries and jealousies dating from a far cruder period in world affairs. At best, it could only rein and control these, as far as was possible, in the direction of its own desires. Europe sought to preserve the "balance of power" by an alliance of progressive and increasingly democratic England, volatile democratic France, and autocratic semi-medieval Russia, on the one side, against progressive and increasingly autocratic Germany, unwieldy Austria-Hungary, and volatile meridional Italy on the other: the Allies against the Triple Entente or Understanding.

This was largely the surface; and, to support even this comparative deadlock against warfare, each of these countries had for years been engaged in a race for armament on land, the sea, and in the air, which ate up national income and constantly plunged each country deeper and deeper into debt. England, France, and Germany had gone far in seizing and holding overseas possessions as outlets. England's ally Japan planned the same thing, as did Italy. Only Russia, with its own enormous undeveloped hinterland, ill-assorted Austria, and Germany's ally Turkey were not restlessly moving toward further colonial expansion.

The world was full of danger zones, where rivalries threatened the start of warfare at any time. The United States and Japan were not overly friendly, and Mexico was constantly a thorn in our side, and we in hers. England was sitting on a seething pot in India, in Egypt, in Ireland, and elsewhere. In Africa, England and France had come near trouble more than once; and the two of them together had banded against Germany in the northwest section of the Dark Continent. German and Slav were locked over the question of the control of southeastern Europe, and the Berlin-to-Bagdad Railway. Worst of all were the Balkan states of southern central Europe, still far behind the rest of the continent in their adoption of the Machine Age, saturated with restive hatreds and jealousies of each other, Austria, Italy, and Turkey, and all together a laid mine which might explode at any moment.

The Machine Age nations sensed the world tension, and, with the exception of the United States, the armament race continued frantically. Among the imperialistic group in each nation, there was a general belief that world war was inevitable, and might break out at any time. This spirit was fanned especially by those who had most to gain financially from warfare, the manufacturers of munitions; and to a lesser extent by all the enormous commercial interests who would be immediately benefited by warfare, such as the overlords of iron, steel, oil, gasoline, and other products. The great Krupp armament works in Germany owned newspapers in Germany, which called on the German people patriotically to resist the hateful French tyrants, who sought to end German freedom and national greatness. At the same time, the same Krupps owned and controlled editorially newspapers in France, which called upon the noble French to rise patriotically and resist the hateful German tyrants, who sought to end French freedom and national greatness. When the French Socialist Jaurès revealed this

in the French parliament, he was assassinated. The nations made enforced military service universal and constantly more extended, and built up staggering army, navy, air forces, and munitions and supplies depot systems. It was only a matter of what was the most advantageous moment at which the first blow should be struck. German officers were drinking toasts to "Der Tag," The Day when they should end England's power and secure Germany her rightful "place in the sun." Similar sentiments permeated too many English and French breasts. Statesmen said that these ruinously extravagant armies guaranteed the peace of Europe and the world. But a man who spends his life acquiring guns and powder yields ultimately to the temptation to begin shooting.

The urbane spokesmen for international good will were blind to most of this. Lord Haldane, Lord Chief Justice of England, came back in 1912 from Germany with the considered judgment,

Indications were that there was a far better prospect of peace than ever before.

Wilson's first message to Congress said,

Many happy manifestations multiply about us of a growing cordiality and sense of community among nations, foreshadowing an age of settled peace and good will.

Thirty-one nations, representing four-fifths of the people on the globe, had assented "in principle" to Secretary of State Bryan's proposal of international arbitration, binding the nations which signed to submit

all questions of whatever character and nature in dispute between them

to international investigation. Wilson saw mankind emerging upon

those great heights where there shines unobstructed the light of the justice of God.

On June 28, 1914, Gavrio Prinzip, a fanatical Serbian patriot, assassinated in Sarajevo, Bosnia, the heir to the Austrian throne and his wife. Austria and Germany at once turned on the little Balkan state. Russia mobilized her troops, to prevent German advance through mid-Europe and Turkey to the Persian Gulf. France mobilized to support her ally, Russia. Germany, understanding the armored condition of her boundary along neutral Belgium and hostile France, violated the guaranteed neutrality of Belgium, and drove destructively over this neutral territory toward Paris. Great Britain entered the war, to defend Belgian neutrality. Such were the major announced motives. Bulgaria and Turkey joined the Central Powers, Italy remaining aloof in spite of her alliance; and Japan, and soon Italy, joined with the allied forces. All Europe was at war, except Spain, Switzerland, Holland, and the Scandinavian countries.

THE NEUTRALITY OF THE UNITED STATES

The first reaction of the United States to this was in the spirit of the Monroe Doctrine—that the war was a concern of Europe, and not of the United States; and that we would best carry out our national spirit by preserving absolute neutrality. President Wilson declared to the world our complete neutrality on August 4th. He told the American people,

The United States must be neutral in fact as well as in name during these days that are to try men's souls. We must be impartial in thought as well as in action, must put a curb upon our sentiments as well as upon every transaction that might be construed as a preference of one party to the struggle above another.

Our role, he said, was to continue to devote ourselves to the peace of the world.

The spirit of this was far too idealistic for daily living. Nearly nine million of our population were of German birth,

or of at least one parent born in Germany. A smaller number were of French extraction, a vastly larger number were of English ancestry, for all that repeatedly we had been at odds with England on various matters of dispute. There was little neutrality in the souls of many of these. There was no neutrality in the newspapers of America, from the start. Certain capitalists had extensive investments in Germany; others had more extensive investments in England, France and Russia. The German and French language press in America were practically as bitter as papers in Germany and France. American newspapers owned by interests with foreign investments sided vehemently in the interests of the countries where the investments were. We were told of the dreadful violation of the neutrality of Belgium, and of German atrocities in Belgium and France. A minority of papers insisted quite as strongly that England and France were brutally overriding our rights, as well as using all sorts of illegal wartime weapons against the Germans. The war became, in America, a war of printer's ink and propaganda; and slowly we tended more and more toward the side of the Allies, England, France, and Russia.

Wilson and ex-President Theodore Roosevelt alike insisted on our strict neutrality, at the first of the war. Roosevelt wrote,

Very probably nothing we would have done could have helped Belgium. We have not the smallest responsibility for what has befallen her.

But the newspaper propaganda continued, and soon a large majority of the citizens of the United States were of the opinion that the war was one between military despotism on the part of Germany and her allies, and democracy on the other side—conveniently forgetting autocratic Russia.

The warring powers no more respected the rights of American citizens and commerce than England and France had done, during the titanic Napoleonic struggle. Great

Britain, with her powerful navy, blockaded the coasts of Germany, and did all in her power to keep us from supplying goods to Germany, by extending the list of contraband articles far beyond previous international usage. When she captured our vessels and cargoes, Wilson had the State Department protest. The protests were so mild, that Germany accused us of being allied already to England.

Germany, unable to compete with England on the sea, began to fight under the sea, by an amazing development of submarine warfare. She turned the waters around England into a war zone, in order to starve the English into surrender. The United States refused to accept this extension of the right of international blockade, whose laws had been made in the days before submarines became so powerful. The submarine did not fight in the open, nor could it observe the ancient usages of visit and search. And this sort of warfare destroyed lives, whereas the English offenses against the law of nations merely concerned property. Yet war is war, and modern warfare tends more and more to ignore all humanizing laws and regulations made in peacetime, substituting for this destruction by all available methods. War is not a game of chess or cards, played by strict rules under the direction of an umpire or of rules which decide all disputed matters: it becomes a life and death struggle, and the old animal rule of conquer or die by any method applies to mechanical warfare as well as to the marching of Athenian hoplites or the raids of desert nomads.

Sooner or later American lives were sure to be lost in this German submarine warfare, unless Americans ceased to travel on the water and American ships remained tied up to their wharves, as in the ruinous days of Jefferson's Embargo Act. On February 10, 1915, after Germany announced her war zone around the British Isles, President Wilson announced to Germany that we would hold the Ger-

man government to "strict accountability," if American lives were lost, or an American vessel destroyed. Germany announced that the destruction of England was necessary; that she had no intention of harming neutrals, but disclaimed all responsibility, if they entered the submarine war zone.

On May 7, 1915, the English Cunard liner *Lusitania* was torpedoed and sunk off the Irish coast without warning, with a loss of 1,200 lives, of whom 114 were Americans. They had been warned by the Germans not to sail on the English ship, on the ground that it was in reality a part of the British navy, with guns concealed below decks, and that it was transporting thousands of tons of ammunition. England denied both the guns and the ammunition.

Instead of regarding this as a war act, President Wilson temporized, dispatching note after note of protest to Germany. American entrance into the war began to be regarded as increasingly inevitable. Military experts at home began to inveigh against our lack of preparedness and the defective condition of our coast defenses.

On March 24, 1916, the French Channel steamer *Sussex* was sunk, with the loss of more American lives. Wilson served an ultimatum on Germany this time:

Unless the Imperial Government should now immediately declare and effect an abandonment of its present methods of submarine warfare against passenger and freight-carrying vessels, the United States can have no choice but to sever diplomatic relations with the German Empire altogether.

Germany replied by agreeing thereafter to confine her fighting, for the rest of the war, to belligerents, and promised that—

merchant vessels . . . should not be sunk without warning and without saving lives, unless the ship attempted to escape or offer resistance.

Germany at the same time disclaimed responsibility for the act of the submarine captain responsible for the sinking of the *Sussex*, and declared its willingness to pay indemnity for the American lives lost. This *Sussex* pledge, temporarily at least, removed all immediate threat of war between the United States and Germany.

THE FIGHT FOR PREPAREDNESS

The sentiment in favor of peace was growing in the United States, both among the idealists and among those who were reaping a rich financial harvest from war conditions in Europe. The farmers of the West were called upon to sell their goods at large profit to the warring nations, particularly to the Allies. The huge manufacturing interests of America experienced a boom time of prosperity such as they had never known. Peace was a paying proposition to all of these. The bankers and financiers, who were increasingly investing in loans to the Allies, felt a definite stake in an Allied victory, in order not to lose their investments and interest. Except for this class, it was to the financial interest of America to have the war continue as long as possible, because of the market it furnished. And idealism to some extent grew out of these new profits. Germany and the Central Powers could not purchase directly from us, in view of the blockade. But it was known that our large sales to the neutral countries of Denmark, Holland, Norway and Sweden were in large measure intended for use across the German border. In 1913, our exports had exceeded our imports by \$691,000,000. In the first ten months of 1916, this excess increased almost 250 percent, or up to the astonishing total of \$2,490,000,000.

As far as the combatants were concerned, it became increasingly clear that the choice lay between the German desire to impose its militaristic Kultur on the rest of the world, and the Allied intention of keeping the English demo-

cratic imperial system and the French democratic system at the helm of world affairs. This country, especially the increasing pro-Ally section of it, was shocked by revelations of crude German and Austrian intrigues in the United States, which were entirely out of any possible spirit of neutrality. It was commonly charged that, to cripple our production which went so largely to the Allies, German agents directly or indirectly instigated strikes, destroyed by fire or bombs manufacturing establishments, placed bombs on English and French ships tied up to American wharves, and instigated Mexico to invade the United States and distract our attention from supplying goods to their European enemies. In September, 1915, the Austrian minister, Dr. Dumba, was recalled at our request, on the discovery that he had incited the laborers of the Bethlehem Steel Works to go on strike. Three months later, our State Department requested Germany to recall Captains Boy-ed and Von Papen, the German naval and military attachés at Washington, for similar activities.

Germany and Austria protested to us against our sale of arms and munitions to England, France and the other allies. Our State Department pointed out that international law justified such transactions, and that Germany had grown wealthy making similar sales to the contestants on both sides of the Boer-English War, the Russo-Japanese War, and various Balkan Wars.

Meanwhile, America was preparing for war. In 1914 the National Security League was organized, to insert universal military training and service into the American form of living, as it was a part of European living. An officers' training camp was established at Plattsburg, N. Y., in 1915, at the insistent suggestion of General Leonard Wood, who had been colonel of the Rough Riders in the Spanish-American War. In 1915, Secretary of the Navy Josephus Daniels secured a \$600,000,000 appropriation for new naval ships,

as part of a three year program to strengthen our navy. All recommendations for a large army failed, the American viewpoint being phrased by Secretary of State Bryan, when he said that the United States could raise an army of a million men between sunrise and sunset. There were still many Americans who held it as a part of their credo that one American could lick twenty men of any other race.

In his message to Congress of December, 1914, Wilson urged against a large standing army, placing his reliance on a "citizenry trained and accustomed to arms"—presumably referring to the state militia system. A year later, he had altered his attitude, and favored a standing army of 142,000, with a reserve force of 400,000. A month later, touring the Middle West, he urged military preparedness without losing a day. The army bills met with much opposition in Congress, and the ultimate compromise was a National Defense Act (June 3, 1916), providing for federal payment for the training of state militias.

OUR SWAY OF INFLUENCE IN THE CARIBBEAN

Important legislation was being enacted by Congress; but this and all other measures were ignored in the headlines, which were devoted to progress of the war on the sea and on the Eastern and Western fronts on land. A Federal Child Labor Act prohibited the entry into interstate commerce of factory or cannery products where children under 14 were employed, or of the products of quarries or mines where children under 16 were employed. A Federal Workmen's Compensation Act, long fought for by labor, was enacted, as was the Adamson Act, establishing the eight-hour day for the well organized railroad employees. A Federal Loan Act was written into law; the suffrage was widened in the Philippines; and the free sugar clause in the Underwood Tariff Act was quietly enacted.

More important than any of these was our gradual

participation in affairs of the countries bordering the Caribbean Sea. In 1914 on December 13th, American marines landed from the *Machias*, marched to the Haitian National Bank, and took \$500,000 of gold deposited by the Haitian government from the bank—money which the bank, a virtual branch of the National City Bank of New York, had refused to turn over to the government. This action took place after France and Germany had made formal demand to be allowed to manage Haiti's finances, followed by the United States; and the refusal of the Haitian government to surrender any such power to us or anyone.

In July, 1915, Admiral Caperton steamed down to Cape Haitien, announcing that he had come to help Haiti establish a secure government. Washington instructed him,

The United States expects to be intrusted with the practical control of the customs and such control over the financial affairs of Haiti as the United States may deem necessary for efficient administration. . . . The United States has no designs upon the political and territorial integrity of Haiti.

The American naval commanders informed the Haitians that they would not permit the election of any President who did not agree blindly in advance to sign any treaty that the United States offered for his signature. Philip Dartigue-nave, President of the Haitian Senate, announced that he would make this agreement. The Navy Department informed Admiral Caperton that Dartiguenave was our choice. He was elected President on August 12, 1915. Two days later the draft of the treaty was presented to him, accompanied by instructions from Washington to the American legation:

The Haitian Congress will be pleased to pass forthwith a resolution to authorize the President-elect to conclude, without modification, the treaty submitted by you.

The Haitian Congress refused to pass the resolution. Admiral Caperton proclaimed martial law and held up the customs receipts, announcing that they would be turned over as soon as the treaty was ratified. It was ratified under protest.

In 1917, a new Constitution was offered to the Haitians, enlarging the powers of the President (who was entirely under American influence), ending the century-old prohibition against the holding of land by foreigners, making orders by Americans to Haitians paramount, and establishing the supreme authority of courts-martial occasioned by the American occupation. The Assembly refused to accept this. It was dissolved. It became clear that no elected Assembly would ever adopt it. It was ordered that a popular vote or plebiscite be taken on this new Constitution. The better class Haitians refused to participate in an election protected by American marines. It was announced that the Constitution was adopted by 98,294 to 769. The Haitians revolted against the American Military Occupation, and were promptly suppressed. According to Secretary Daniels, during 1919, 1,861 Haitians were killed. Major General Barnett came to Washington to protest, and was denied a hearing by our State Department. He left a memorandum, indicting our policy in the island as—

the most terrible regime of military autocracy which has ever been carried on in the name of the great American democracy.

A copy of this was also delivered to the chairmen of the House and Senate Committees on Foreign Affairs.

Encouraged by our success in regulating the internal affairs of Haiti, we turned our attention to the other half of the island, Santo Domingo, where we had had a financial protectorate since the administration of Theodore Roosevelt. In the spring of 1916, we landed marines, and pro-

claimed a military government on the island, until the January elections thereafter were completed.

At the end of the Taft administration, Nicaragua had offered us a treaty, dealing with the right to build a canal across Nicaragua and fortify the Pacific and Caribbean sides. Secretary of State Bryan amended this treaty, so as to make Nicaragua a protectorate of the United States, as Cuba was. The republic was to surrender the right to make treaties affecting her independence and territorial integrity, and was not to contract debts beyond what her revenues could support. The United States was given the right to intervene, to "maintain the independence of Nicaragua" and to protect life and property in it. The Senate of the United States was unwilling to assume this protectorate, and this provision was eliminated. But Costa Rica and Salvador protested against the treaty finally arrived at, as infringing upon their territorial rights. The Central American Court of Justice supported their claims. The United States supported Nicaragua's refusal to follow these decisions. This caused the court to be dissolved, and the Central American Union to be abolished. American marines remained at Managua as a "legation guard."

The presence of marines in Caribbean countries was a constant source of annoyance to the natives. In March, 1922, a pitched battle took place between 26 marines and Managua police, in which three of the police were killed. The marines were given jail sentences. In January, 1925, the marines were withdrawn. But meanwhile their presence had provoked a smoldering enmity against the United States, which it may take years to erase. To the contrary was our 1917 grant of citizenship to the inhabitants of Puerto Rico. That same year, we bought from Denmark, for \$25,000,000, the Danish islands of St. Thomas, St. Croix, and St. John, known as the Virgin Islands. So far, none of these extensions of American power have been at

the request of the Latin Americans; they mark a significant growth of the United States in the direction of imperialism.

THE ELECTION OF 1916

The Democrats, in 1912, had declared themselves in favor of no reelections of Presidents. But conditions in Europe were so critical, that the Democrats did not consider for a moment replacing Wilson, and he was renominated without opposition. Among the leading Republican candidates were Charles Evans Hughes, a former governor of New York State appointed to the United States Supreme Court; Henry Ford, millionaire automobile manufacturer who had sent across to Europe his fantastic "Peace Ship" to get the soldiers out of the trenches by Christmas; and Theodore Roosevelt. Roosevelt and La Follette were the leading candidates for the Progressive or Bull Moose nomination, its convention meeting in Chicago simultaneously with the Republicans. Roosevelt secured the Progressive nomination again; but by now his main objective was to defeat Wilson, with his slogan "He kept us out of war," rather than to advocate Progressive principles.

Roosevelt wired from Oyster Bay that he would not accept the nomination, until he saw what attitude the Republican candidate would adopt toward the leading issues of the day. When Hughes was selected by the Republicans, his attitude evidently satisfied Roosevelt that here was a candidate who would advocate immediate American preparedness and the assertion of American rights against Germany. So Roosevelt left the Progressives without a Presidential candidate, an act described by Ida Tarbell as a "cowardly stab" to "a great and noble-hearted body," and harshly described on all sides as the betrayal of his followers by a trusted leader.

The campaign was fought out on the issue of "Americanism." Judge Hughes, who had announced that "the Supreme

Court must not be dragged into politics," toured the country, sedately urging preparedness, a more vigorous policy in Mexico, and preservation of all American rights on the high seas—which meant stopping the German submarine campaign, not English actions against American commerce. He had no power to evoke enthusiasm in his hearers, being more like Judge Parker, the defeated Democratic candidate of 1904, than like a Blaine, a Bryan or a Roosevelt. Wilson conducted no campaign, merely receiving visitors at his New Jersey "summer capital" at Long Branch, Shadow Lawn. The Democrats boasted that Wilson had kept us out of war; the Republicans insisted that he had sacrificed our national honor, to preserve peace. Theodore Roosevelt spoke eloquently for Hughes:

The election of Wilson means that we are ready to accept any insult, even the murder of our women and children, if only we make money.

Hughes was criticized for sullyng the judicial ermine, by emerging from the retirement of the all-powerful Supreme Court to reengage in partisan politics. But most of all it became clear that the fight was between the bankers and financiers of the eastern seaboard states, who wished intervention on the side of the Allies to make sure that their investments of American dollars would not be rendered worthless by a German victory; and the manufacturers of the central states, and the planters and farmers of the South and the West, who were entirely satisfied with our shaky policy of dignified neutrality.

Before midnight of election day, it was known that Hughes had carried every eastern state, together with the important pivotal mid-Western states of Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin. He retired for the night, after reading the congratulatory telegrams that rained in on him, confident that he had been elected. Extra editions of the newspapers appearing shortly after midnight spread-eagled

the election of Hughes to the presidency. The *New York Times*, which supported Wilson, led off its earliest morning edition of November 8th with large headlines conceding a "sweeping victory" for Hughes and the Republicans.

As the day grew older, and the reports from the country districts came in, Wilson's chances grew steadily brighter. One after another, states granted to Hughes swung into the Wilson line. In California, conservative Hughes had administered a snub, said to have been unintended, to Progressive Hiram Johnson, who had been Roosevelt's Progressive running mate in 1912; and this is said to have cost the Republicans thousands of votes in California. For the first time in our political history, this state turned the tide of a presidential election. It finally became clear that Wilson had carried it; and this gave him the election, by an electoral vote of 277 to 254. In popular vote, Wilson was still further ahead, with 9,129,606 to 8,538,221. A half million votes had been cast for Allan L. Benson, the Socialist candidate; Hanly, the choice of the Prohibitionists, received more than 200,000 votes; while the Socialist Labor candidate received less than 14,000, none of these candidates receiving any electoral votes.

WILSON OFFERS TO MEDIATE THE WORLD WAR

On December 12, 1916, Germany, speaking as if victory had already been won, offered to meet the Allies to discuss peace terms. The Allies rejected this promptly, holding that this was merely an attempt to mislead the Germans with the belief that Germany was the victor.

On December 18th, Wilson sent a note to both the Allies and the Central powers, asking them to state their terms on which the war could be ended, and the future peace of the world guaranteed. On January 22, 1917, Wilson addressed the Senate, announcing the conditions on which America would give formal adherence to a league of peace

—to a war, of course, in which we were not participants. He called for—

A peace which should satisfy the whole world.

A peace secured by the “organized major force of mankind.”

—Guaranteeing the freedom of the seas, and the security of small and weak nations.

—Based on the proposition that “governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed.”

He announced that these were the American principles and policies; and the principles of forward-looking men and women of every modern nation—the principles of mankind, which must prevail. This note was ignored by both sides to the conflict.

Wilson was one of the most magnificent idealists in all American history. He lacked the ability to make his idealism comprehensible to lesser minds, or to enforce it on his own country or countries abroad. The country could understand and approve of “He kept us out of war.” It was not concerned, yet, with the attitude of “forward-looking men and women.” And so the war suddenly redoubled its violence, with us as one of the participants.



Woodrow Wilson (1856-1924)

CHAPTER XXXIV

THE UNITED STATES IN THE WORLD WAR

WAR AGAINST GERMANY

ON JANUARY 31, 1917, Germany enlarged her former war zone, and declared unrestricted submarine warfare again. Only one American ship was to be allowed to pass weekly each way, through a narrow lane, to Falmouth; and this ship must be plainly marked with three alternate red and white stripes on her hull, and must have a checkered red and white flag floating from each mast. This put an end to long diplomatic efforts on the part of Germany to hold the friendship of the United States. On February 3rd, President Wilson broke off diplomatic relations with Germany. It had become popular already for pro-Ally Americans to insist that we had never been at war with the English people, but that the American Revolution had been a war of English colonists in America against a German (Hanoverian) King ruling in England. Now President Wilson announced,

We do not desire any conflict with the German government. We are the sincere friends of the German people, and earnestly desire to remain at peace with the government which speaks for them. We shall not believe that they are hostile to us until we are obliged to believe it, and we purpose nothing more than the reasonable defense of the undoubted rights of our people.

The jubilant German submarine raiders, during the month of February, 1917, sank more than 200 ships, of

which more than one quarter were neutral, with one or two American ships among them. On February 26th, Wilson asked Congress for permission to arm American merchant vessels. The House granted the permission; eleven anti-war Senators, taking advantage of the Senate rule allowing unlimited debate on any subject, talked the bill to death: that is, they conducted what is called a filibuster, continuing to talk until by law Congress had to adjourn on noon of March 4th, when this Congress expired and the new one became the legal legislature of the American people. Wilson consulted the Attorney-General of the United States; and in spite of this "little group of wilful men" proceeded to have American merchant vessels armed. The liner *St. Louis* soon left the United States with guns mounted bow and stern, and safely passed through the danger zone.

On March 15th, a crushing blow was struck at the Allied cause. The Russian Czar, who had been tepidly pro-German since the beginning of the war, was driven from his throne by a revolution. Zealous pro-Ally adherents saw in this a chance that Russia would now throw itself wholly on the Allied side; but it soon became evident that this would not be the case. Only the presence of the English General Kitchener, worshipped as a demi-god in Russia, could have held the Russians, already war-weary, in the conflict. Kitchener had died when the British warship *Hampshire* was sunk by the Germans, bearing him over to Russia. Now there was already talk of a separate peace between Russia and the Central Powers; and this would release the German troops on the Eastern Front, and permit the united Central Power troops to crush opposition in the West. It was a time when only some desperate event could save the Allied cause.

President Wilson had summoned Congress to meet in extra session on April 16th, to deal with the pressing problem of national defense. The continued aggressiveness of

the U-boats, the popular name for the German submarines, warned the President that there was no time to be lost. A dispatch between the German foreign minister, Zimmerman, to the German minister in Mexico, was intercepted and published in the United States. This proposed an alliance of Germany, Mexico and Japan against the United States, if we entered the war; and promised to reward Mexico for this step by restoring to her her "lost provinces" Texas and New Mexico. A wave of indignation swept the country. Wilson advanced the date of the meeting of Congress to April 2nd.

On that date, President Wilson appeared in person before the new Congress. An irresponsible German government, he declared, in spite of all considerations of humanity, was "running amuck" among the sane civilized nations of the world. He asked Congress to recognize that the actions of the German government constituted a state of war between Germany and the people and government of the United States.

We have no quarrel with the German people, but only with the military despotism of Germany. The world must be made safe for democracy. . . . We desire no conquest or dominion. . . . We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind. We shall be satisfied when these rights have been made as secure as the faith and the freedom of nations can make them.

The Senate resolved that a state of war existed with Germany on April 4th, by a vote of 86 to 6. The House adopted this resolution on Good Friday, two days later, 373 to 50. Thus a Congress elected on the platform "He kept us out of war," as its first official act, declared that a state of war existed between us and one of the world's leading powers.

The international situation had been largely similar to that which confronted the United States during the great

Napoleonic struggle a little more than a century earlier. At that time, the desperate duel to the death between England and Napoleon had caused our rights as a nation to be violated by both sides to the controversy; and we went to war officially first with France, and then engaged in the War of 1812 against England. But, in those conflicts, we had not acted in concert with either of the European powers; we had merely fought for the right to be let alone. In 1914-1917, our rights were similarly violated by both sets of contestants, our property rights by England at first, and our property rights and the lives of our citizens sacrificed by Germany in the long run, in its desperate attempt to destroy England. The whole Republican sentiment of the country, in the election of 1916, had been in favor of aggressive action against Germany: and this could only mean in concert with the battling Allies. Events occurring between the reelection of Wilson and the extra session of April 2nd had precipitated us into warfare with Germany at last. This warfare could only be made effective, since we were not a neighbor of Germany as we had been of England in 1812, nor were the Germans in command of the sea in 1917 as the English had been in 1812, by our combining with the Allies, and becoming a part of the warfare taking place on European soil. And this is what happened. We had fought the Barbary pirates a century before in European waters; warfare between the Unionist and Confederate navies had taken place on the high seas of the Old World; and in the Spanish American War we had fought on land and sea in the Philippines against Spanish power. But this was the first time that American troops had ever been engaged in actual warfare on European soil, and it marked our definite emergence into the group of world powers, subject to emergency call which would call for our armed participation in warfare in any land on the face of the globe.

AMERICAN PARTICIPATION IN THE WAR

More and more it has become realized that wars are not fought exclusively between armies drawn up in battle array on the field; but that whole peoples must be engaged in warfare, as it is carried on under modern conditions. Armies have to be fed, clothed, housed, equipped with arms and munitions; so these activities, and all that precedes them, in the way of agriculture, mining, and manufacturing, are properly a part of warfare. Neutrality in a world war today is practically an impossibility. The person who sells anything needed by a belligerent becomes to that extent a part of the belligerent's complete war machinery; the banker who lends money to a belligerent or to any one furnishing any of the sinews of war to him becomes to that extent a participant in the war. We were willing, at first, to sell goods indiscriminately to either side of the contest; and, directly or indirectly, to the time that we actually entered the war, we did this. We were not responsible for the fact that the British navy controlled the surface of the sea throughout the war, thereby preventing us from selling directly to the Central Powers. We did not recognize the new German method of underseas warfare and blockade as a part of the accepted law of nations. It may or may not become so, in the future. But the deadlock above and below the ocean's surface, between English and Germans, was very similar to the deadlock between France and England a century earlier: and as that earlier condition had led to warfare, so did the later.

President Wilson, in his Flag Day address in Washington, in mid-June of the same year, pointed out additional acts which forced us into the war. He pointed to German spies and conspirators throughout the United States; German propagandists—not mentioning the equally aggressive pro-Ally propagandists; sabotage and actual destruction of

our industries and commerce; incitement of Mexico to go to war with us, and Japan as well. These things were all a part of the desperate German effort to starve England and the Allies with regard to food and all the essentials of warfare. But the German method, the submarine, was new and unaccredited in international warfare; and, however much we may understand the German belief in the necessity for this warfare against us as a feeder of the Allies, it is clear that, having accepted the role of merchant with necessities to sell to the battling Allies, the time had to come when we must meet directly Germany's efforts to stop this activity, by any means within its power. We went to war, in the vaster sense, when we began to supply the Allies with the necessities of war. A commercial nation cannot remain neutral in such a situation, under modern conditions. And, since the Allies were our natural outlet, it was with them that we ultimately sided on the field of battle.

As far as Wilson's announced American aims in the war, the matter was far simpler. Repeatedly he stated that we were at war to end Prussian militarism, and to establish government by the consent of the governed throughout the civilized world.

The great fact that stands out above all the rest is that this is a people's war, a war for freedom and justice . . . a war to make the world safe for the peoples who live in it and who have made it their own. A war to make the world safe for democracy. . . . And, repeatedly, a war to end war. . . . This idealistic vision of our motive won the hearty and cordial support of idealists everywhere. It was reechoed triumphantly in the press and pulpit, and was accepted glowingly by most of our people. We became, not a nation at war to end personal harm done to us by Germany, but crusaders for humanity. This mood directed us throughout the hostilities, and even guided us

in our participation in the peace negotiations which came in the end to establish these great ideals for mankind.

The Allied nations, especially since the defection of Russia, were in a bad plight. They needed money, munitions, food, men, and ships. In April, 1917, the German submarine warfare reached its destructive peak, sending over 800,000 tons of shipping, chiefly British, to destruction. The German press claimed that before summer this figure would rise to 1,000,000 tons a month, and that Great Britain could not hold out until the autumn. France was in a desperate condition. Her coal fields, her iron mines, her best vineyards, her most important factory towns, were in German control. One-sixth of her male population was under arms. They looked to America for supplies, doctors, surgeons, nurses, ambulances, and most of all fresh and aggressive troops, to replace the worn and shell-shocked veterans of three years of dreadful international carnage. French and British missions visited the United States shortly after our entrance into the war, the English one led by the Foreign Secretary, Arthur J. Balfour, and the French by Marshal Joffre, "Papa Joffre," the hero of the Marne, and Rene Viviani, the Minister of Justice. Belgian, Italian, and Russian missions came, and were all heartily welcomed. They brought home to us how tremendous was the contribution which we must make, if the Allied cause was to be saved from defeat.

Congress threw itself into the task of raising an army, equipping it, enlarging American shipping and transport facilities, stimulating manufacturing and agriculture, and providing the all-essential financial sinews of war. Our army, at the time, had reached 200,000. We needed millions. In addition to the number who enlisted as volunteers, Congress on May 18th passed the Selective Service Act, providing for the registry for military service by draft or conscription of all men between 21 and 30. Seventeen days later, 9,500,-

ooo men were thus enrolled. Of these, after careful sifting for physical and other causes of exemption, 687,000 men were added to the service, in 16 cantonments. The state militia were collected in 16 more. These thirty-two training camps, complete in every detail, were completed in a few months.

General John J. Pershing, affectionately known as "Black Jack," who had seen service in Mexico, was named by Wilson to head the American Expeditionary Force overseas. On June 13th, only 9 weeks after the declaration of war, Pershing and his staff reached Paris, where they were greeted with a tumultuous ovation. Pershing visited the tomb of LaFayette, the brave young French idealist who had done so much to win liberty for the colonies in the Revolution, and said simply, "LaFayette, we are here."

By the end of June, the first American soldiers landed in France. They flowed steadily across the ocean, avoiding the danger of attacks from submarines, and were first subjected to intensive training for actual warfare, and then shipped to the front. In October, they were able to replace the war-wearied Allied troops in the front-line trenches: for for three years the warfare had developed into a long-continued intrenched deadlock, broken by brilliant sallies and drives, which in the end left the lines nearly the same as before. President Wilson addressed them:

The eyes of all the world will be upon you, because you are in some special sense the soldiers of freedom. Let it be your pride, therefore, to show all men everywhere what good soldiers you are but also what good men you are. Keep yourselves fit and straight in everything and pure and clean through and through.

This plea for purity and idealism, coming direct from the President himself, had a very salutary effect on the morale of the American troops.

The navy had been mobilized on the day that war was

declared, and 87 German merchant ships in our ports were at once taken over. By May 4th, a fleet of our destroyers was in European waters, to cooperate in submarine hunting. In June, the larger warships followed, and aided the British Grand Fleet who had the German flotilla bottled up in Kiel harbor. An Emergency Fleet Corporation was organized, to speed up the production of troopships and supply transports. In the year and a half of the war, our fleet of such transports increased from 13 to 2,113, with a tonnage increase of 5,000 percent. During the two years of our participation in the war, we spent almost \$4,000,000,000 on our navy and auxiliary ships, or just about the entire amount we had spent in the 120 years since the time of Washington. We transported to the ports of France 7,500,000 tons of cargo, including food, trucks, automobiles, rails, freight cars, and locomotives, with a loss of only 1.6 percent in transit. The troopships, especially the huge *Leviathan* taken over from the German flag, ferried troops by regular schedule to Europe, until we had more than 2,000,000 soldiers on the other side, half of these being carried over in French and British transports. One troopship, the *Tuscania*, fell a victim to the submarines; the others escaped.

The airplane had been invented in America; but for war purposes it had been developed overseas. Congress appropriated \$614,000,000 for the air service. American aviators received their battle training in the aviation schools of the fighting Allies, and by the spring of 1918 were reconnoitering the German lines and engaging the German aces in battle. At the time the Armistice was signed, we had 50,000 men in the air service, quite a number of them flying at the front; and we were producing war planes at the astonishing rate of 1,500 planes and 5,000 motors a month. More than 60 American aviators were officially listed as "aces"—that is, aviators who had brought down at least 5 enemy planes.

FIGHTING THE WAR IN AMERICA

The vital matter of securing food for the Allies was placed by President Wilson in the hands of Herbert Clark Hoover, an American mining engineer and financial expert, who had become well known throughout the world as Chairman of the Commission for Relief in Belgium. He had secured and shipped over large amounts of food, which was instrumental in keeping the Belgians from death by starvation, when Germany continued to requisition food raised in Belgium to feed German troops at the front. On May 15, 1917, Hoover was named Food Administrator of the United States. A Food Control Act was passed three months later, forbidding higher prices for food or a diminished supply, punishing food hoarding, and giving the President the power to establish the price of wheat. The popular slogan was "Food will win the war—don't waste it!"

This brought the fact of war home to every family in the land, and made even the eating of a meal matter for patriotic reflection. A much larger acreage was planted in food-stuffs, even the children being taught to plant "war gardens." Families signed pledges to eat cornbread and save the wheat for the soldiers overseas, and to go without sugar in their coffee and tea to see that the Allies had enough. By the close of the war, the Food Administration was acquiring and distributing more than \$3,600,000,000 per year in foodstuffs. In 1918 we contributed more than \$2,000,000,000 worth of food to our soldiers and the Allies in Europe. Beef exports increased 200 percent; pork exports almost doubled; grain practically doubled; sugar increased almost 250 percent; dairy products, more than 2,000 percent. There was no wastage, and the people were being taught a vital lesson in modern warfare.

The same efficiency had to be applied to transporting this food to harbors suitable for export, and then shipping it

overseas. This meant of course government control of both transportation and the vital coal fields of the country. To secure single control, private management of the railroads was shelved in favor of government management. On December 27, 1917, President Wilson took over all the railroads, and named Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo as Director-General of them, pledging his word that they would be returned to the private owners 21 months after the conclusion of the war. A yearly rental, based on the average annual earnings for the three preceding years, was paid to the railroad owners for this assumption of management. Almost \$1,000,000,000 was spent in improved equipment during 1918, and the wages of the railroad employees were increased by a third of a billion dollars. The difficult lesson was being learned by Americans that, in modern warfare, the man who raises and ships potatoes or grain to market, or keeps a railroad train moving, was fighting the war as fully as the man in the front line trenches or attacking enemy planes in the air. The express companies, the telephone lines, the telegraph lines, were all similarly merged, and were brought under single efficient government control, under the Postmaster-General. Fuel conservation was also asked of the people: there were heatless days and lightless nights, and daylight saving (the advancing of the clock an hour during spring, summer and autumn months) was instituted, to save lights. In January, 1918, fuel was so scarce that 250 ships were unable to leave our ports; and the Fuel Administrator proceeded to shut down, for five days, all manufacturing plants in the United States east of the Mississippi River. This was no war of armies; it was a war of entire peoples.

Labor surrendered its right to strike, during the war, to make all this efficiency possible. Wealthy men left what work they were doing to go into important government posts at merely nominal wages—the "dollar-a-year men." To a large

extent America ceased to purchase luxuries, in order to devote the sum usually spent on luxuries to such relief organizations as the Red Cross, the Salvation Army, the Friends Service Committee, the Knights of Columbus, the Jewish Welfare Board, the Y. M. C. A., and similar groups. When these asked for funds, the response was instantaneous. Almost \$4,000,000,000 was contributed to these various organizations, or an average of \$40 from every American man, woman and child—a tremendous voluntary gift for war relief, from a people already giving their utmost in so many directions. When it is remembered that this was in addition to paying the increased war taxes and absorbing \$17,000,000,000 in Liberty Bonds, the available wealth of the United States devoted to war purposes can be grasped more easily.

The government policy was to meet one-third of its enormous war expenses by taxation. The War Revenue Act, passed in October, 1917, increased the income tax, levied a tax on excess profits from 20 percent to 60 percent, raised the postage rates, and taxed luxuries, amusements, transportation, and even business transactions. This bill was intended to raise \$2,000,000,000. The 1918 Revenue Act was intended to raise \$6,000,000,000, the largest sum ever levied by any government on its people at one time. The income tax on incomes above \$4,000 was fixed at 12 percent, with graduated additional taxes on larger incomes running up to 65 percent, above \$1,000,000 incomes.

And now the government asked the people to bring out their savings, and invest them in Liberty Bonds, to help win the war. The figures are astonishing, and show with what unanimity the people threw themselves back of the war:

<i>Liberty Loan</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Amount</i>	<i>Rate</i>	<i>Amount Subscribed</i>	<i>Subscribers</i>
First	May, 1917	\$2,000,000,000	3½	\$3,035,000,000	4,000,000
Second	Oct., 1917	3,000,000,000	4	4,617,000,000	9,400,000
Third	Apr., 1918	3,000,000,000	4¼	4,176,000,000	18,300,000
Fourth	Oct., 1918	6,000,000,000	4¼	6,988,000,000	21,000,000

A fifth Victory Loan was called for in April, 1919, of \$4,500,000,000, at 4¾ percent, with 15,000,000 subscribers. This too was oversubscribed. These tremendous sums, loaned to the government or acquired by taxation, paid for our participation in the war, and permitted us to lend more than \$10,000,000,000 to our allies, Great Britain, France, Italy, Belgium, and Serbia. Thus we sinewed ourselves and our Allies at the same time, in a whole-hearted effort to drive through to victory.

The drive was not quite whole-hearted. The members of the Industrial Workers of the World or I. W. W.'s and some of the Left Wing (extremist) Socialists fought war activities to the end, claiming that the war was made by capitalists for the benefit of capitalists, and should be resisted by labor, which was no more than potential cannon fodder. There were many American citizens or inhabitants of German or Austrian birth or sympathies, who continued their support of the Central Powers, even after the United States entered the war. The members of certain religious sects who disbelieved in war refused to cooperate. On June 17, 1917, a harsh Espionage Act was signed by Wilson, to combat efforts to obstruct the draft, destroy American property and weaken the strength of the United States. Conscientious objectors to war were ordered to perform noncombatant service in the medical, quartermasters', and engineering corps, or on farms under War Department surveillance. Some 500 men refused steadily to the end to do any of these things, which all contributed toward the war to which they were opposed. These were jailed in federal prisons, together with draft obstructionists and disloyal plotters.

FIGHTING THE WAR ABROAD

Germany, at first, had boasted that the entrance of the United States in the war would not affect it at all; that their

submarines would bar American supplies and troops from reaching European shores; and that our untrained troops could not compete with their well-trained armies. The British naval successes against submarines, and the actual arrival of American troops in France, altered this attitude materially. On August 11, 1917, the Pope suggested peace negotiations to the combatants. President Wilson replied to this promptly, stating that the United States—

could not take the word of the present rulers of Germany as a guaranty of anything that is to endure, unless explicitly supported by such conclusive evidence of the will and purpose of the German people themselves as the other peoples of the world would be justified in accepting.

This was an innovation in diplomacy, to put it mildly. Wilson looked beyond the actual rulers of Germany to the people themselves, in his determination to make world affairs thereafter lie in the hands of the people; and thus even in his diplomacy sought to make democracy world-wide.

The German Reichstag or Congress announced that it had no intention of annexing any conquered territory or exacting any indemnities; and the German Kaiser spoke of his love for peace. But the Reichstag's power was entirely clipped by the German military machine, and German insistence that Germany was fighting on the defensive against piratical powers was no aid to immediate progress of peace negotiations. On January 5, 1918, Premier David Lloyd George, of England, speaking before the British Trades Union Congress, laid down the English basis for peace:

1. Full sanctity to treaties.
2. Complete restoration by Germany of lands conquered.
3. Reparation by Germany for war damage done.
4. Territorial decisions to be by the consent of the governed.

5. Some international organization to limit armaments and make war less probable.

On June 8th, Wilson outlined before Congress his celebrated "Fourteen Points," as a detailed program for the world peace that was to follow this war to make the world safe for democracy, and to end wars thereafter. The most important of these points were:

1. Open diplomacy.
2. The removal of economic barriers.
3. The freedom of the seas.
4. The reduction of armaments.
5. Reparation of war wrongs.
6. Self-determination on the part of territories.
7. A league of nations.

The others dealt with more specific questions, especially referring to disputed Alsace-Lorraine, the Balkan States, Russia, Italy, Poland, and the Turkish empire.

While thus the possible bases for peace were being spread before the peoples of the world, American troops had at last arrived at the front line trenches, on November 3, 1917, where they began to face the horrors of modern trench warfare at their fullest. When the spring opened, in a desperate effort to crush Allied opposition before the full American force could be put in the field, the Germans, on March 21, 1918, opened the first of five tremendous drives against the British and French forces on the Western front, the sole remaining battlefield of major importance. The Russian resistance to the East had collapsed entirely. On November 7, 1917, the temporizing provisional government headed by the Socialist Kerensky was driven out by a revolution comparatively bloodless, and the Bolsheviki, led by Nikolai Lenin and Leon Trotsky, took control. They concluded the treaty of Brest-Litovsk with Germany in the spring of 1918, as the best treaty they could secure, firm in their determination to end Russian participation in this war

of "capitalists' governments," in order to rehabilitate their country and turn it into a union of soviet Socialist republics. This released German troops for warfare in the West, and they drove great wedges or "salients" into the Allied line.

By the beginning of June, they had pushed the Allied troops back until they had reached the Marne again, and were within forty miles of Paris. By this time, American troops began to stiffen the Allied line until it ceased to bend. On May 28th, American forces captured the town of Cantigny from the Germans. American marines, the next month, with irresistible vigor drove the Germans out of Belleau Wood, which was promptly renamed by the French general in command "The Wood of the Marine Brigade."

An important step in Allied success was the concentration of military power in the hands of one generalissimo. Ferdinand Foch, a brilliant French strategist, was named to the supreme command in March, 1918. He accordingly took over command of the American troops, who were arriving at the rate of a quarter of a million a month. In an independent offensive early in September, American troops, near Verdun and the Argonne Forest, wiped out the German salient of St. Mihiel, which for four years had withstood all allied attacks. Two American divisions north of this point, cooperating with British troops, crashed through the Hindenburg line. During September, October and November of 1918, the Americans commenced and completed the splendid Argonne-Meuse drive. 1,200,000 American soldiers, in 21 divisions, many of them receiving their baptism of fire for the first time, were opposed by 40 divisions of German veterans. The battleground was the impenetrable Argonne Forest, which no army had tried to win before. The Americans progressed steadily over insuperable obstacles in the terrain, driving the army before them, until they reached Sedan. They cut through Germany's most important line of communication, and demonstrated that American troops

were more than the equal of the enemy opposition. They had advanced 26 miles, fighting every inch of the way, and had captured more than 26,000 prisoners, with 490 field guns. Marshal Foch testified to their aggressive ability with the simple comment, "The American soldiers are superb!"

THE ARMISTICE AND THE WAR'S END

On September 30, Bulgaria surrendered unconditionally to the French General d'Esperey. The English General Allenby conquered Palestine, restoring Jerusalem to Christian possession after seven hundred years. It was daily becoming clearer that Austria and Turkey could not hold out much longer. As late as September 12th, the Kaiser, speaking before the workers at the Krupp armament factory at Essen, announced that victory had been won by the death-defying German navy and the army with its mighty generals; and expressed his willingness to extend the hand of mercy to the "prostrate and bleeding" enemy. This false picture was being constantly punctured by propaganda leaflets dropped by Allied planes throughout Germany, urging a revolution to overthrow the German war lords.

The new German Chancellor, Prince Maximilian of Baden, who had announced that he favored peace, contacted President Wilson through the Swiss minister at Washington, accepting Wilson's fourteen points as a basis for peace, and urging the United States to notify the other belligerent states, and have plenipotentiaries sent to commence negotiations for peace.

With a view to avoiding further bloodshed, the German Government requests the immediate conclusion of an armistice on land and sea.

This was October 4th. President Wilson replied by saying that there could be no peace made, while German or Austrian troops still occupied France or Belgium. Nor

would Wilson deal with the government, unless it was established that it really represented the German people.

The Germans insisted that the government spoke for the people, at last. Convinced on these two points, President Wilson submitted the correspondence to the Allies, suggesting that, if they were inclined to consider peace at this time, they might instruct the commanders of the armies to arrange the details of an armistice. Between November 1st and 4th the Supreme War Council of the Allies, with Colonel House, Wilson's personal representative, attending, prepared the terms. Secretary of State Lansing, November 5th, asked the Swiss minister to notify Germany that Marshal Foch had been empowered to conclude an armistice. Germany accepted. On the evening of November 7th, the blindfolded German delegates were led within the Allied lines, and on November 8th were received by Marshal Foch. Foch read to them the proposed armistice terms:

Immediate German evacuation of France, Belgium, Alsace-Lorraine, and Luxemburg.

All German territory west of the Rhine, thirty kilometers on the east bank, and the bridgeheads at Mainz, Coblenz and Cologne, to be occupied by Allied troops.

A neutral zone ten kilometers wide on the right bank of the Rhine, from Switzerland to Holland.

Surrender by Germany of 5,000 guns, 25,000 machine guns, 5,000 locomotives, 150,000 cars, 5,000 motor lorries, 10 battleships, 6 cruisers, 50 destroyers, all submarines, and other war armament and supplies.

Withdrawal of all German troops in Austria-Hungary, Turkey, Rumania, and Russia.

The treaties of Brest-Litovsk and Bucharest were to be disavowed.

These were the major terms. Germany was given 72 hours to decide whether to sign or not.

The Kaiser, at General German Headquarters at Spa, protested against the signing of the armistice. Von Hindenburg insisted that it must be signed. The Kaiser and the Crown Prince signed letters of abdication, renouncing all rights of the Hohenzollerns to the throne of Germany, on November 9. The next day they fled across the border into Holland, where the Kaiser was "interned" at a castle which had once sheltered the English prince who later became the Stuart king, Charles II. The red flag of Socialist revolution was flying in half the cities of Germany. The fleet at Kiel had mutinied. Just before the expiration of the time limit of 72 hours, the German delegates signed the armistice. At 11 A. M. on November 11, 1918, the last gun of the war was fired.

The world went wild with joy. Berlin and Vienna rejoiced at the ending of bloodshed as frantically as did Paris, London, and New York. In early afternoon President Wilson drove through hurraing crowds to the Capitol, and announced to Congress the terms of the armistice. Four German kings, four grand dukes, three princes and two dukes renounced their German titles and became plain citizens. President Wilson announced on that same historic November 11th to the American people:

Everything for which America fought has been accomplished. It will now be our fortunate duty to assist . . . in the establishment of just democracy throughout the world.



CHAPTER XXXV

PEACE AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

THE PEACE TREATY

THE World War had cost Germany 39 billions of dollars, and Austria 21 billions—a total of 60 billions. It had cost Great Britain 38 billions, France 26 billions, the United States 22 billions, Russia 18 billions, Italy 13 billions—a total of 117 billions. It had cost Germany 1,773,700 men killed and a total casualty list of 7,142,558; and Austria-Hungary 1,200,000 killed and total casualties of 7,020,000. There had been 42,188,810 troops mobilized among the Allies, with 22,089,709 casualties; and 22,850,000 mobilized among the Central Powers, with 15,404,477 casualties. Altogether eight and a half million men had been killed, and three times as many wounded. The United States had had 4,355,000 troops mobilized, with 126,000 killed, 234,000 wounded, 4,500 prisoners and missing. Nor was this regarded as a high price to pay for attaining our announced objectives of the war.

To show how modern warfare has changed, every dollar spent by the United States on its troops was expended as follows:

Food and clothing	.44
Munitions	.29
Soldiers' payroll	.13
Air service	.06
Engineering	.04

Medical expenses .02

Miscellaneous .02

In addition to our more than four million troops in service, we had 7 million more registered under the 1918 Man Power Act, including all males between 18 and 45. Shipping, War Trade, War Industries, Labor, Censorship, Food Administration, Fuel Administration, Railroad Administration, Employment Service, Industrial Housing, War Finance and other Boards had taken under direct government control all industries necessary for the conduct of the war. An Alien Property Custodian had taken over German and Austrian industrial properties in the United States valued at \$700,000,000. The War Risk Bureau had insured the soldiers for more than \$40,000,000,000. And now, with the coming of peace, all this mammoth war machine had to be demobilized, and the whole enlisted country restored to a peacetime footing.

The Peace Conference of the Allies assembled in Paris for its opening session on January 18, 1919, with 32 Allied nations represented, but with a Supreme Council consisting of the chairmen of the delegations of the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan. This council was finally reduced to four men—President Wilson himself, and Prime Ministers Lloyd George of Great Britain, Clemenceau of France, and Orlando of Italy. Wilson was convinced that the formation of an efficient League of Nations was the most essential part of the peace treaty. To insure the adoption of his ideas, and since only the President of the United States has power commensurate with the premiers of such countries as Great Britain and France, he determined to represent the United States in person. His colleagues were his personal representative Colonel Edward M. House, Secretary of State Lansing, General Tasker H. Bliss, and former ambassador to France Henry M. White.

The Versailles Peace Treaty on its surface expressed the

fourteen points laid down by Wilson as the essential basis of any permanent world peace. It was commonly understood that the high idealistic spirit of his proposals had been interpreted by shrewd European diplomats, until this spirit had vanished from it. A League of Nations was provided for, containing the celebrated Article X,

The members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the League.

This bound us to protect from "external aggression" the boundaries of every nation admitted into the League. Nothing could have been more remote from the advice given by George Washington in his Farewell Address issued in 1796, warning his countrymen against

permanent alliances with any part of the foreign world.

It was the contention of Wilson and the advocates of our participation in the League of Nations that we had inevitably become a part of the world's great powers, and could no longer shirk or evade a duty to act in concert with these powers to preserve the peace and the boundary lines of the world. The decision of his countrymen was against him.

As soon as the provisions of the covenant of the League of Nations were published in America, the anti-Wilson spirit that had been growing, especially in Republican circles, for months, manifested itself in swift aggressive action. This animosity dated back at least to the end of 1918. Wilson had declared "Politics is adjourned" the preceding spring. When the time came for Congressional elections, Wilson appealed to the country to vote for none but Democrats in the elections, claiming that the Republicans had sought to repudiate his leadership, and should be rebuked for this. Now that the war was over, opposition to Wilson could not be twisted into a charge of disloyalty to the country. And so more than one third of the United States Senators—

more than enough to defeat the treaty—signed a round robin declaring their opposition to the covenant of the League of Nations “in the form now proposed,” and advocated peace with Germany first, and a discussion of the League afterwards.

The peace treaty was formally signed at Versailles on June 28, 1919, and Wilson presented it to the Senate for ratification. The Congress elected in 1918 was Republican in both houses, with a majority of 2 in the Senate, and 45 in the House. Not a Senator had been made a member of the Peace Commission, which was construed as an unjustifiable exclusion from the making of the treaty. The President sent word from Paris that he did not want the treaty discussed at all in America, until his return.

The Senators pointed out that the League of Nations covenant practically surrendered the sovereignty and independence of the United States. It would bind us to go to war at the command of the League Council; to take part in petty European squabbles; that such matters as immigration and the tariff would hereafter be subject to European interference; and that the British Empire was given 6 delegates to our 1 in the League assembly. In September, Wilson started on a transcontinental tour, to carry the treaty directly to the people, and awaken such a sentiment in its favor that ratification would be forced upon the Senate. He received enthusiastic ovations; but so did Senators Borah, Johnson and McCormick, who trailed after him to denounce the League. It became clear that he had been wrong in stating that

an overwhelming majority of the American people were in favor of the League.

Wilson had been ill throughout the entire trip, under the care of his physician, Admiral Grayson. As he was approaching Wichita, Kansas, on the return from California, Wilson was stricken. He was hurried back to Washington,

partially paralyzed, and never thereafter regained his health.

His political leadership was gone, as well as his health. Both houses of Congress were antagonistic. His cabinet disintegrated, Lansing being dismissed from the State portfolio on the ostensible ground that he had called cabinet meetings during the President's illness, but in reality because he had opposed the League covenant. McAdoo resigned to build up his private fortune, and there were five other changes in the cabinet, only three members of the cabinet continuing throughout the two terms.

The treaty, even with 15 reservations offered by Senator Lodge of Massachusetts, was defeated in the Senate by a vote of 39 to 55. Wilson announced from his sick bed that he would leave the matter to the people, in the forthcoming presidential election of 1920. In the December session of Congress, the Senate considered the treaty again, especially that Article X which was most objected to. Again it was rejected, 49 votes favoring it, and 35 being cast against it.

THE CLOSE OF WILSON'S ADMINISTRATION

In the summer of 1919, the telegraph, cable and telephone lines were restored to private ownership and management. The railroads were still in government hands at the beginning of 1920, after two years of government deficits in their administration, which had been largely entrusted to the previous railroad executives, acting under the Railroad Administration. The 1918 deficit ran up to \$200,000,000, and practically as large a sum again was shown in the figures for the first ten months of 1919. Revenues had almost doubled, but meanwhile operating expenses were up 80 per cent, due to the advance in cost of all materials, and to more than half a billion dollars in increased wages.

Various plans were offered for the settlement of the railroad situation. The railroad executives, who had been in

charge while the deficit ran up, urged private ownership and management, with federal regulation; with labor disputes to be settled by the government, strikes and lockouts being outlawed. The stockholders proposed a flat 6 percent from the government as interest on their invested capital, with profits above this to be divided between owners, employees, and an improvement fund. The powerful railroad brotherhoods offered the Glen E. Plumb plan providing for public ownership; management divided between railroad employees, managers, and presidential appointees; with a 5 percent rental to the government from the railroad revenues, and half of any excess to the employees; while deficits should be made up by taxation.

On November 17, 1919, the Esch Bill was passed by the House, providing for—

1. Immediate return of the roads to private ownership.
2. Deduction of the \$775,000,000 spent by the government from rental due the railroad companies.
3. Public loans at 6 percent to the companies for 5 years.
4. Boards of adjustment to settle labor disputes.

In December the Senate passed the Cummins Bill, dividing the country into railroad regions similar to the Federal Reserve Bank regions, and a merging of the railroads into 18 to 20 systems. In each region revenues were to be pooled, successful roads making up for losses of unsuccessful ones.

The Cummins-Esch Act of 1920 merged these two in a bill declared by employees to be flagrantly unfair to labor, providing for increased power of the Interstate Commerce Commission, who should fix rates to provide for a 5½ percent return to investors; a Railway Labor Board to settle disputes; \$200,000,000 from the government to return the roads to their prewar condition, and a \$300,000,000 "revolving fund" to make loans to the roads; no increased rates

before September 1, 1920; and a prohibition of interlock directorates or executives.

Under the leadership of Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, the struggle between labor and capital was patriotically laid aside, during the war. When peace came, an epidemic of strikes broke out, affecting dockmen, shiphands, firemen, garment workers, textile workers, silk makers, carpenters, builders, miners, telegraphers, street-car operators, steel workers, expressmen, policemen, waiters in hotels, barbers, until it seemed as if there was no one willing to continue at work. The causes of this were manifold, including the return of soldiers to civil life and the bounding cost of living, which labor charged to profiteering greed, and capital to labor's outrageous demands. A conference called by the President to unite the warring factions broke up in disagreement.

On November 1, 1919, 400,000 bituminous coal miners went on strike, demanding 60 percent increase in wages, and the guarantee of a minimum working week of 30 hours. We were still technically at war, and on November 8th the strikers were enjoined to end the strike before November 11th, or be punished for "rebellion against the government in time of war." The strike was called off, but the men returned slowly, and by December coal production was only 40 percent of normal. Out of conflicting suggestions, at the end of March, 1920, a wage increase of 27 percent was granted, which ended the difficulty.

The labor camps were permeated with direct-actionists, who sought the overthrow of the capitalist system, and the appropriation of all its wealth by the workers. The Industrial Workers of the World, organized in America in 1904, were leaders in this. Their power grew with disordered wartime conditions, and especially with the strengthening of Bolshevik power in soviet Russia. They "bored from within" the more conservative unions, and

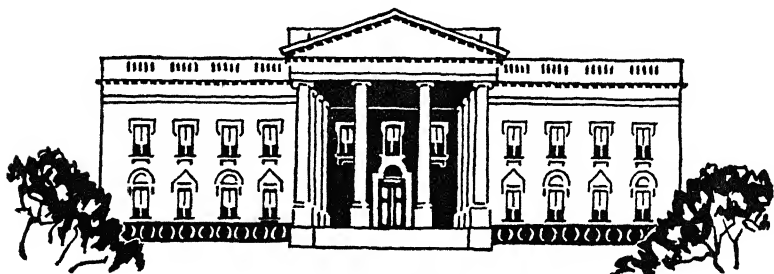
preached revolution. In the summer of 1919, the Department of Justice rounded up many of these throughout the country, and on December 2nd over 200 of them were deported to Russia on the "Red Ark," as the United States transport *Buford* was nicknamed. The American Federation of Labor repudiated the I. W. W. doctrines in December, 1919, resolving that the Federation was an American institution devoted to American principles and ideals.

The movement for the prohibition of alcoholic liquors throughout the country had progressed sporadically since the inception of the country. State after state, especially in the South, moved into the "dry" ranks. In December, 1917, Congress passed the 18th Amendment to the Constitution, providing for national prohibition one year after ratification of the amendment by the necessary number of states. January 16, 1919, Nebraska ratified as the 36th state, and a year later national prohibition became a part of the organic law of the land. On November 21, 1918, the Food Production Act prohibited the manufacture of intoxicating liquors after the first of July following, to conserve grain for food purposes.

Woman suffrage was another movement which had become world-wide, and which had been adopted in a number of states in the union. In January, 1919, the House enacted the 19th Amendment, granting suffrage irrespective of sex. It was eighteen months before the more conservative Senate passed the bill. On August 28, 1920, Tennessee became the 36th state to ratify, and equal suffrage became a part of the law of the land. This added some 8,000,000 voters, in the 1920 presidential contest.

The United States Constitution is not easy to amend. Eleven amendments had been adopted by 1798, including the ten collectively called the Bill of Rights. The Jefferson-Burr contest for the presidency brought into being the 12th Amendment, dealing with voting for President and Vice

President, in 1804. The Civil War was responsible for the three amendments providing for the granting of freedom, civil rights, and the vote to the Negroes. In 1913, after a long struggle, the national income tax and the direct election of Senators were written into the organic law by the 16th and 17th Amendments. National prohibition and woman suffrage completed the changes in our organic constitutional law, and both of these came into existence due to World War conditions, emphasizing the part women played in our civilization, especially with so many of the men under arms and at the front; and emphasizing the conservation of grain for food rather than beverage purposes. The returning soldiers were very bitter about the passage of the prohibition amendment during their absence; and the last amendment to the Constitution, the 21st, enacted and ratified in 1933, repealed the "Noble Experiment" of prohibition, and made liquor again legal, except in states where it was prohibited locally. One other amendment, the 20th, enacted in 1932 and ratified in 1933, provides that the terms of President and Vice-President shall commence on January 20th following their election; and that of Senators and Representatives on January 3rd. A Child Labor amendment was passed in 1924, but so far only 28 states have ratified it.



The White House

PART VII
THE UNITED STATES IN THE
SECOND WORLD WAR

CHAPTER XXXVI

THE REPUBLICANS RETURN

THE ELECTION OF 1920

THE Republican Congressional victory of 1918 was a general repudiation of the Wilson administration. In 1920, the Republican nominating convention met at Chicago, with the two leading candidates General Leonard A. Wood, advocate of preparedness and political heir of Theodore Roosevelt's power and policies; and Governor Frank O. Lowden of Illinois, a wealthy conservative candidate. A deadlock resulted, that lasted for nine ballots. On the tenth, a dark horse, Senator Warren Gamaliel Harding of Ohio, was chosen as the candidate, with Governor Calvin Coolidge of Massachusetts, who had come into prominence in connection with a strike of Boston policemen in 1919, as his running mate. Harding had been in the Senate only one term, and had not been prominent in national affairs.

The Democrats, who met at San Francisco three weeks later, were deadlocked even more bitterly between A. Mitchell Palmer and William G. McAdoo, who was the son-in-law of Woodrow Wilson and who had served as his Secretary of the Treasury, Director-General of the railroads during the war, and had otherwise been prominent in the Wilson administration. His prominent connection with the discredited Wilson administration was one of the chief arguments used against his choice. The other candidate had been Wilson's Attorney General, who also had been Alien Property Custodian. Palmer was unpopular among certain

circles for his vigorous activities against radicals and liberals, and neither he nor McAdoo could command enough votes to secure the nomination. On the 44th ballot it went to Governor James M. Cox of Ohio. The Socialists named as their candidate the aged Eugene V. Debs, who was in jail for violation of the Espionage Act. The new Farmer-Labor party selected as its candidate P. P. Christensen of Utah.

The Democrats waged the campaign, as far as possible, upon the question of ratifying the Treaty of Versailles and entry into the League of Nations. But more and more Americans were shying away from this doubtful experiment of further entangling ourselves in European affairs, since the feeling was growing that the Versailles Treaty had been actuated by revenge more than justice, and had within it the seeds of future wars. But they could not keep out of the campaign other problems that were troubling the American people more—the soaring cost of living, burdensome taxation, labor restiveness, and a general feeling that Wilson's high idealism had collapsed completely during his trip to Paris and afterward.

The vote was a complete landslide for the Republican candidates, Harding and Coolidge. Every Northern and Western state enrolled in the Republican column; only Kentucky of the border states went Democratic; and the Solid South was broken into, when Tennessee went Republican. The electoral college result was 404 for Harding to 127 for Cox; while the popular vote was 16,152,220 to 9,147,553. The Republicans increased their control of both the House and the Senate. Wilson's ex-secretary commented that it was not a landslide; it was an earthquake.

Harding's cabinet was headed by Charles Evans Hughes of New York for Secretary of State. Andrew W. Mellon of Pennsylvania, a new figure in American politics, was made Secretary of the Treasury, and Herbert C. Hoover of Cal-

ifornia was named as Secretary of Commerce. Hoover had been suggested for both Democratic and Republican candidate in 1920, as the savior of Belgium, of the United States, and of the world, by his work in food relief. But he had spent very little time in the United States during his adult years, except during our participation in the war, and developed no strength in the conventions. Harding announced the willingness of the United States to confer and give counsel to the nations of the world, and aid in mediation, conciliation and arbitration; but he made it evident that we would not enter into the League of Nations. A separate peace was made with Germany, Austria, and Hungary. On January 1, 1922, diplomatic relations were resumed with the new German government.

He made it clear that his main objective was a "return to normalcy," in taxation, lowered prices, retrenched expenditures, restricted immigration, a raised tariff, and the ending of working class and agricultural uneasiness. It was no easy task. The farmers were complaining bitterly that their products were back at prewar prices, while their necessities were kept bolstered up by an unfair tariff. Railroad and coal-field strikes harassed the administration. The American Legion, composed of World War veterans, led by their officers, demanded a bonus, which would have cost the national Treasury additional hundreds of millions. The 67th Congress was not at all under the President's orders, as the Wilson Democratic Congresses had been.

THE PRESIDENCY OF HARDING

In September, 1922, the Fordney-McCumber Tariff Act was passed, which returned the country to the high rates of the Payne-Aldrich Tariff. A national budget system was enacted by Congress, and an Agricultural Credits Act furnished some relief to the farmers. The agitation for less

immigration resulted in the passage of an act limiting immigration for the next 13 months to 3 percent of the nationals of any country living here by the 1910 census. Some of the war taxes were moved. But the administration and Congress locked horns on several matters. Secretary of the Treasury Mellon favored an elimination of the high surtaxes on large incomes, while Congress favored the retention of these. Mellon opposed the bonus bill, while Congress, spurred on by enthusiastic lobbyists from the American Legion in every section of the country, passed it, 333 to 70 in the House, and 47 to 22 in the Senate. Harding, acting on the advice of his Secretary of the Treasury, vetoed the bonus bill. The House passed it over his veto, but the Senate failed to override him, by four votes.

Senator Borah, one of the "bitter-enders" against the League of Nations, moved as an amendment to the naval appropriations bill, calling for the expenditure of \$494,000,000, that the President be asked to invite England and Japan to a conference, on the matter of the limitation of naval armaments, and the "pacification of the Pacific." It was clear already that the "war to end war" had had no such result, since many sporadic conflicts were raging throughout the world, and the revenues of all the nations were not only being strained to meet interest on the appalling debts of the World War, but in a new preparedness race.

The Washington Conference, which developed from this, included England, Japan, France, Italy, as the largest naval powers, and also China, Holland, Portugal, and Belgium, because of their large colonial, territorial and commercial interests in the Far East. The conference opened on November 12, 1921, with these nine countries represented. Secretary of State Hughes, the presiding officer, startled the delegates when he proposed a naval holiday for ten years—and offered, representing the United States, to sacrifice 30 battleships and cruisers, half of them afloat and half under

construction, aggregating 845,750 tons, as our contribution to this return to sanity in naval strength. He asked Great Britain and Japan to make corresponding sacrifices, and suggested a ratio of 5:5:3 for the three leading naval powers of the world—allowing Great Britain a slight excess over our navy, and Japan a navy more than half as great. France and Italy were to have navies slightly lesser than Japan's.

This proposition was accepted, even by Great Britain, who thus gave up her former policy of having a fleet equal to the combined fleets of her two strongest possible rivals. Treaties were entered into between the United States, Great Britain, Japan and France, guaranteeing peace in the Pacific; two treaties entered into by all nine powers guaranteeing the territorial and other interests of China; and a five-power treaty regulating the use of submarines and poison gas in warfare. The conference sat three months, and the American Senate promptly ratified all of the treaties.

The 1922 by-election resulted in Republican majorities in both houses, but by vastly diminished majorities. Labor and the farm interests were entirely dissatisfied with the administration's policies with regard to their problems. There was great dissatisfaction with Mellon's administration of the Treasury department, many of the voters regarding it as an administration in behalf of the rich. Continued Republican opposition to the League of Nations played a part in the partial rebuke to the Harding administration. The actual majorities, 14 in the House and 8 in the Senate, were largely paper majorities, since more than that number of Representatives and Senators belonged to the "farm bloc" of Western agricultural Congressmen, who could be counted upon to oppose most of the Harding policies.

In the summer of 1923 President Harding, with his wife and a party of 65, paid a visit to Alaska. The President

became ill just before the return trip, and rapidly grew worse. In spite of all treatments for ptomaine poisoning, he died at San Francisco on August 2, 1923. Vice-President Calvin Coolidge received the sad news at his boyhood home in Vermont just after midnight. His sturdy old father administered, by kerosene lamplight, the oath of office, and a genuine Yankee President at last was at the helm of the destinies of the United States.

CALVIN COOLIDGE AS PRESIDENT

Calvin Coolidge was the son of a Vermont farmer and storekeeper, descended from a 1630 settler in Massachusetts. He moved to Northampton, Massachusetts, after graduation from Amherst, and rose steadily up the ladder of state Republican politics, being assemblyman, state senator, lieutenant governor, and finally governor. He proved to be one of the simplest and least pretentious Presidents the country had known, opposed to luxury in his private life, restrained in speech, and a hard-working man determined to cope with his intricate and difficult job. He retained all the members of Harding's cabinet, and announced that he intended to carry out all the policies of his predecessor.

But this cabinet included elements calculated to cause the unpopularity of any president. Secretary of the Treasury Andrew W. Mellon was becoming unpopular the length and breadth of the land, as a rich man's representative, especially for his policy of permitting enormous refunds to wealthy corporations and individuals of taxes already paid to the government. Herbert C. Hoover, Secretary of Commerce, was by all odds the best known man in the cabinet, and hardly a week passed that some important activity was not released from the publicity department of the Secretary's office, which at least established that one cabinet official was energetically on the job, winning the good graces of Americans in every walk of life, no matter how insignificant.

But Attorney General Harry M. Daugherty of Ohio, the Attorney General, had been criticized from the start as a political appointee, by no means up to the requirements of his position. There were rumors that Albert B. Fall, Secretary of the Interior, and Edwin F. Denby, Secretary of the Navy, were developing the oil lands reserved for navy use in the southwest; but, although these matters came up in open cabinet meeting, the country was not given much information about progress in this field.

Coolidge was ineffectual in dealing with Congress, from the start. The small Republican majorities turned into anti-administration majorities on most of the matters the President recommended, and at times became large enough to override presidential vetoes. The shadow of the Bonus Bill, sponsored by the American Legion, which Harding had vetoed, would not die. A modified bill was revived and passed. Coolidge vetoed it. Both houses passed it over his veto, by large majorities. Coolidge urged Secretary Mellon's plan for the reduction of surtaxes on large incomes, so that the wealthy would be taxed less. Congress turned down this proposal. Coolidge favored the entry of the United States into the World Court at The Hague, an independent part of the League of Nations. Congress fought shy of this proposal. Coolidge asked Congress to soften the new immigration bill, to satisfy strong Japanese objections. The bill barred all aliens ineligible to citizenship, which meant all Japanese. Congress would not listen to the President on this. Everything Congress did was a virtual declaration to the President that the representatives of the people were elected members of Congress; that they could pass laws without presidential advice or counsel; and that his sole function was to act as a mere executive, taking orders from Congress, and carrying them out. In view of the bulky oversize of the House of Representatives, and the hectic conditions under which legislation was often passed, mak-

ing true deliberation impossible, this conception was by no means an efficient one for carrying out popular mandates. It was impossible for the voters to indicate in their Congressional choice their attitudes on many matters of important national interest. They might elect one legislator for his strong advocacy of repeal of prohibition or the bonus; but he had no mandate on other matters of legislation, and the multiplicity of counsels and compromises did not result in a strong national government.

THE ELECTION OF 1924

The Republican nominating convention met in Cleveland, on June 10, 1924. Coolidge's political backers had seen to it that he was the choice of the Republican machine, especially in the Southern states where the choice of electors was largely in the hands of federal officials—states which so far had not cast a Republican electoral vote since the end of Reconstruction, with the solitary defection of Tennessee in 1920. Even the states which had direct nomination of presidential electors had been carried almost entirely for the renomination of Coolidge. The first ballot showed Coolidge almost the unanimous choice, with 1,065 votes in the convention, to 34 for La Follette and 10 for Senator Hiram Johnson of California, the sturdy independent whose opposition had cost Hughes the election in 1916. For the Vice Presidency, Governor Lowden of Illinois, a leading contestant in 1920 for the presidency, was nominated. He refused to accept, and Brigadier General Charles G. Dawes, born in Ohio, living in Illinois, was named in his place. Dawes had been American agent for the purchase of supplies for the Allies in France during the war, and Harding had named him first Director of the Budget. As Chairman of the commission in charge of solving the vexing problem of the payment of German reparations, he had worked out the Dawes plan in 1924; and the acceptance of this plan

in Europe was a strengthening feature in the Republican campaign. Dawes was a colorful personage, nicknamed "Hell and Maria" from one of his common expressions, and gave a personal popularity to the ticket which the chilly personality of Coolidge could never contribute.

The Democrats met in Madison Square Garden, New York City, on June 24th, with William G. McAdoo, inheritor of the Woodrow Wilson policies, and Governor Alfred E. Smith of New York as two strong leading candidates. McAdoo still could not command a majority of the delegates. New York City was frantically in favor of Al Smith, its favorite son, a product of the East Side of the city who had worked his way up to successive terms as governor by overwhelming majorities over the Republican candidates; who was efficient and strictly honest; a Tammany man who was still independent of Tammany dictates on all important matters. But he was a Roman Catholic. So far, no Catholic had ever been elevated to the presidency. In addition to strong Methodist and Baptist opposition to the Catholic church, especially in the more backward sections of the South, a revived Ku Klux Klan, opposed to Negroes, Catholics and Jews, fought his nomination vigorously, and it was generally prophesied that no Catholic could carry a single Southern state, with the possible exception of Louisiana. The support of the South was of course necessary to Democratic victory.

Rather than support McAdoo, the South and other sections of the country put up favorite sons, and persisted in voting for these long after there was any chance of their nomination. Alabama Governor Billy Brandon's thunderous "Twenty-four votes for Underwood!" rang out at the opening of ballot after ballot, for two weeks, in the sweltering summer heat. The deadlock seemed unbreakable. The worn-out convention at last abandoned all of these candi-

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dates, and selected John W. Davis of West Virginia, who received the nomination on the 103rd ballot.

Davis was an able eastern corporation lawyer, who was believed to have represented the J. P. Morgan interests. In an endeavor to satisfy the more radical elements of the party, both the dominant poor white element in certain Southern states and the radical agrarian movement among western Democrats, Governor Charles J. Bryan of Nebraska, the brother of William Jennings Bryan, was picked for Vice President. Davis had made an admirable ambassador to the Court of St. James; but labor and farming interests everywhere were more than skeptical of his ability to represent the common people in Washington.

Nor did Coolidge satisfy the radicals any more than Davis. On the adjournment of the Republican convention, Senator La Follette of Wisconsin repudiated the Republican choice, flatly declaring that President Coolidge had—literally turned his back upon the farmer.

On July 4th, an Independent Progressive Party was formally launched at Cleveland, and La Follette was nominated by it for the presidency, with Democratic Senator Burton K. Wheeler of Montana as its vice presidential candidate. For the first time the non-compromising Socialist party did not put up its own nominee, but allied itself with the Progressives, indorsing La Follette's candidacy by a committee vote of 106 to 17.

There was never a campaign in which the Republicans had furnished such devastating campaign material to the other side, as this 1924 campaign. In 1923, Secretary of the Interior Albert B. Fall resigned from the cabinet, over the matter of the leasing of the oil fields of Teapot Dome in Wyoming and other oil lands to the Sinclair oil interests. In the spring of 1924, a few months before the national nominating conventions, he was indicted for bribery and conspiracy growing out of this transaction. Secretary of the

Navy Denby, who had been a part of the negotiations, resigned from the cabinet under fire. Attorney General Daugherty also had to resign, for his part in the affair. During all of this matter, cabinet meetings at which it was discussed had been attended by Vice-President Coolidge, Secretary of Commerce Hoover, an international expert upon oil fields, and the rest of the Republican cabinet leaders. Assistant Secretary of the Navy Theodore Roosevelt Jr. had known of the negotiations, and had not protested. There was no hint that any of these men were involved in the transaction. But it was pointed out that they had sat quietly by and permitted these things to be carried on, during the Harding administration. Rumors spread about that leaders in the administration had boasted that everything was for sale in Washington except the Capitol dome, and that was to be carried back to Ohio as a souvenir.

A candidate like John W. Davis, a dignified corporation lawyer and gentleman, would not take advantage of such a situation. The entanglements of the scandal finally touched even leading Democrats. Eastern Republicans in private discussions were outraged at the crude openness of the whole matter. The Democrats attacked the Republican tariff, its foreign policy, its treatment of the World War veterans, and, more tepidly, the Teapot Dome scandal. The Democrats grew more hopeful, as the campaign progressed. They believed that La Follette would carry a number of Western states which ordinarily went Republican; and that Coolidge, even if he received a plurality of the electoral college votes, could not secure a majority, needed for election. This would throw the election into the House of Representatives, where the Democrats were so strong that the addition of the Republican farm bloc, entirely anti-Coolidge, would throw the presidency to either a Democrat or some agrarian liberal satisfactory to them.

The November election was a bitter disappointment to

the Democrats, enthusiastic over the prospect of a return to power, if not over the personality of their presidential candidate. John W. Davis carried twelve states, all south of the Mason and Dixon line, and ran up a total of 136 electoral votes. The other 35 states of the Union went Republican, giving Coolidge 382 electoral votes. The popular vote was 15,718,789 for Coolidge to 8,378,962 for Davis. La Follette secured 4,822,319 popular votes, and only 13 electoral votes, all from Wisconsin. By the proposed system of proportional representation, in which minority parties receive their pro rata of the popular vote, the result would have stood something like: Coolidge, 293 electoral votes; Davis, 151; La Follette, 86. But the result would have been unchanged.

The 69th Congress, elected at the same time, showed an increased Republican majority (14) in the Senate, and a majority of 65 in the House. The Republicans were firmly enough in the saddle largely to ignore the farm bloc, now. The courts delayed in the trials resulting from the Teapot Dome scandal. On February 28, 1927, almost two years after the second term of Coolidge began, the United States Supreme Court voided the oil leases to Doheny, one of the recipients of this grant of naval oil fields to private interests. On March 17th following, President Coolidge cancelled all the Naval Reserve oil leases. It was not until late in 1929, during Hoover's administration, the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia found former Secretary of the Interior Albert B. Fall guilty of accepting a bribe of \$100,000 from Edward L. Doheny in the leasing of the Elks Hill naval oil reserve more than six years before. On November 1st, Fall was fined \$100,000, and remanded to prison for a year. On July 11, 1931, the same court ruled that Fall must serve this jail sentence, and nine days later he began his prison term at the New Mexico State Prison

in Santa Fe. There were no other jail sentences against principals in the transaction, although there were other trials.

General boom and prosperity conditions continued during Coolidge's entire term. In 1926, Germany was admitted to the League of Nations. The next year, 600 United States marines were sent to Nicaragua, with several warships, to protect American interests. The marines were not withdrawn until early in 1933. This same year saw the most serious floods in the lower Mississippi Valley that the country had ever witnessed. For six weeks some 20,000 square miles in Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri, Mississippi, Arkansas and Louisiana were under water. The property damage totalled more than \$270,000,000. Over 4,400,000 acres of crops were destroyed, together with 25,000 horses, 50,000 cattle, 150,000 hogs, and much sheep and poultry. Six hundred thousand people were rendered homeless, and hundreds were drowned. Secretary of Commerce Hoover was made Flood Relief Commissioner, and took charge on the spot. The levee below New Orleans was blown up at the Poydras Dam, in a successful effort to save the city; although this rendered homeless thousands of Acadian hunters and trappers in the neighborhood, and deprived them of their livelihood for some time. Armed farmers, hunters and trappers patrolled the levee and sought to prevent this necessary step, firing at government officials, visitors and newspaper reporters alike. The efforts of Hoover were much criticized, and the conditions were not distinctly ameliorated until the waters receded naturally.

The by-election for Congress, in 1926, reduced the Republican majority in the Senate to 1, and cut slightly into the House majority. On May 10, 1927, Charles A. Lindbergh, son of a radical Congressman who had been prosecuted for his ideas and activities during the participation of the United States in the World War, and at the time an aviator not well known, flew eastward in his plane, the *Spirit*

of *St. Louis*, from San Diego, California to Mineola, Long Island. On May 20th Lindbergh hopped off, flying alone, for the eastward flight across the Atlantic. On May 21st he reached his objective, Paris, and had made aviation history. He received an ovation such as few Americans have ever received, on his return, and his example has stirred thousands of Americans toward achievement in this and other fields.

PRESIDENT HOOVER AND THE DEPRESSION

When the 1928 Republican national convention assembled, it had been the hope of the machine Republicans that Coolidge would consent to run for reelection. After all, he had been President for only five years, and that was far less than two full terms. But in a typical laconic message to his fellow-citizens, he announced "I do not choose to run", and this settled the matter. Secretary of Commerce Herbert Clark Hoover had been making plans since 1920 to secure the nomination. State after state, especially in the Democratic South, had selected Hoover delegates. In spite of the opposition of party leaders, he was nominated, with Senator Curtis of Kansas, who was proud of his possession of part American Indian blood, as his running mate.

Hoover was descended from a German or Dutch immigrant who came to Pennsylvania in 1738. The family had migrated successively to Maryland, North Carolina, Ohio, and then to West Branch, Iowa; and here Herbert Clark Hoover was born on August 10, 1874. The family were Quakers, and Hoover's father was a blacksmith. He had been orphaned in childhood, and was raised by relatives in Iowa and Oregon. He was a member of the first graduating class in Leland Stanford University, and shortly after his graduation he commenced the practice of engineering and became a mining financial engineer, which took him to various parts of Australia, Asia, Europe, and Africa. He

was living in London when the World War broke out, and was at once made Chairman of the American Relief Committee there, charged especially with facilitating the return of war-stranded Americans to this country. He became world famous for his administration of Relief in Belgium; and, upon our entry into the war, he became Food Administrator for the United States, by appointment of President Wilson. He was mentioned for the presidential nomination in 1920 both as a Democratic and a Republican possibility. But his lack of participation in practical politics was against him, and he was not seriously considered. In 1920 he entered Harding's cabinet as Secretary of Commerce, and for the next eight years he served in this capacity both under Harding and Coolidge.

Governor Smith of New York, who had been a strong contestant for the Democratic nomination in the New York City convention in 1924, was chosen as the Democratic standard-bearer, in spite of warnings by Southern Democrats that no Catholic could carry the Southern states. Leading Republicans deprecated the bringing of a religious issue into the race, remembering how it had acted as a boomerang against Blaine in 1884. But the spirit of intolerance had grown, due to agitation especially in the more backward regions of the country, and alarmist rumors were spread broadcast, insisting on a papal plot to capture the United States, and other medieval imaginings. Smith was personally one of the most popular men in the United States. His integrity was unquestioned, and his independence of Tammany was known to all discerning students of political affairs. He was known to be fair to labor, and was regarded by his adherents as a city born and bred Abraham Lincoln, who had pushed his own way up to national leadership with a background as full of obstacles as those that confronted the Great Emancipator of the Civil War period. He was an efficient executive, and, except for his religion, he

would have proved a strong opponent for even such a candidate as the "great engineer," the savior of Belgium during the crucial World War years.

The election in November 1928, more than justified the threats of Southern non-support of the Democratic candidate. Smith carried Rhode Island and Massachusetts, in the North; but he lost his own state, New York, by more than 100,000 votes, though this was only $2\frac{1}{2}$ percent of the New York total. He did not carry another Northern state, and not a single Western state. Worst of all, the Solid South was shattered. The border states, Maryland, Delaware, Kentucky, and Missouri, were solid for Hoover; and, of the Solid South, Florida, North Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia rolled up Hoover majorities, leaving only six Southern states—Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina, still in the Democratic column. Hoover's electoral vote was 444, the largest so far rolled up for any presidential candidate. Smith received only 87 electoral votes, 64 of these being from the South. The votes cast for Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate (267,420) and W. Z. Foster, of the Workers Party (48,770) were unimportant, in a total vote of almost 37,000,000 for all candidates. The rebuke to the Democrats reached to both Houses of Congress, the Republican majority in the Senate rising from 1 to 16, and in the House from 42 to 103.

The country faced the future, the day after election in 1928, with as much confidence as at any period in its entire history. While the President-elect, his wife and a large party went upon a good will tour of Latin America, on the battleship *Maryland*, returning on the *Utah*, the country had a chance for further appraisal of the man, his policies, and his words. The voters had been fully educated as to Hoover's achievements as an engineer in every continent in the world, making him the most cosmopolitan President

we had ever had. His effective work in Belgium before the United States entered the war, and in the United States between 1917 and 1928, were already well known. Even his opponents granted that his undoubted abilities as an engineer and executive would no doubt make him one of the outstanding Presidents. He announced, before inauguration and in his inaugural address, that the country was on the eve of the greatest national prosperity that it had ever known. It was known that Europe was in the throes of a world-wide depression, which had followed as an aftermath of the World War, the inability of the competing nations to pay their war debts, and the enormous expenditures since for armaments and national military protection. But Europe seemed very remote in the spring of 1929, and the citizens of the United States confidently looked forward, under such inspiring leadership, to the beginning of a millennium of prosperity.

On July 24, 1929, the President proclaimed the Kellogg-Briand Anti-War Treaty in effect, by which the 62 leading powers of the world pledged themselves to renounce war as an instrument of national policy. There did not seem to be a cloud in the national sky. And then, in October, the price of stocks began to sag unaccountably downward. By the end of the month, the fall had been so abrupt, that it was estimated that more than \$15,000,000,000 in stock values had vanished, or more than the four combined Liberty Loans during the World War.

President Hoover and his cabinet constantly reassured the country that the upset was only temporary, and that "prosperity was just around the corner." It was a corner that it took some years to arrive at. The election of the 72nd Congress, in 1930, cut the Republican lead in the Senate back from 16 to 1 again, and replaced the Republican majority of 103 in the House with a Democratic majority of 5. This had always been the price of a depression on the

party in power; and 1930 was no exception to the rule. European nations began to default in the payment of the interest on their war debts. On June 20, 1931, Hoover proposed a one-year moratorium on intergovernmental debts, to take place ten days later. It went into effect. On September 21st, Great Britain went off the gold standard, followed at intervals by other nations. Conditions grew worse, and not better. Unemployment rose to greater heights than ever before in the United States, and relief agencies were strained almost to the breaking point. It was now generally admitted that the United States was merely a victim of general world conditions, and, though individually sound, had been dragged into the maelstrom of a world depression.

There were sporadic upturns in various lines of industry, promising an end of the desperate panic conditions. But repeatedly Hoover and leading cabinet members had informed the country that prosperity was about to return, until the leading business men began to distrust presidential utterances, and even the effect of the President's words upon the public. On one occasion, when a real upturn seemed in sight, Hoover was asked not to make any announcement of the fact, but rather to leave this to some other source of national information.

Herbert Clark Hoover was not in any way responsible for the causing of the depression and panic. He inherited it from conditions left by his predecessor, as surely as Van Buren inherited the panic of 1837 from the Jackson administration, and as surely as Cleveland inherited the 1893 panic from the previous administration of Harrison. But our history had always been that an administration had to suffer for conditions effected by causes entirely outside its control. In the case of the panic and depression commencing in 1929, local conditions were in part responsible, but wider causes were at work. We have pointed out that the United

States, by assuming a leading part in the Machine Age, had intertangled its financial, commercial and industrial prosperity with the prosperity of the world; and that it was therefore subject to world boom periods of prosperity, as well as world periods of depression.

The worst that can be said against the Hoover administration is that it did not in any way anticipate the crash that was so close upon it when it took office; and that, once the terrible worldwide condition had included us in its devastating effects, the administration took no wise measures to relieve conditions, and shorten the pressure by a comprehensive scheme which would restore us to something like normal conditions. It is entirely uncertain how far such efforts would have aided in the slightest. But it is certain that misleading reports that the depression had run its course, and that the financial upgrade was about to start or had actually started, were the worst possible steps to be taken in the emergency; since, when the trend of affairs revealed that the reports had been misleading, a feeling of impotent despair swept over the country, and its leaders sagged lower and lower into the slough of despond and futility.

This was the condition, as the election of 1932 approached. The Republicans still assured the country that Republican leadership would solve its dreadful problems more swiftly and efficiently than any other leadership could. But the election of 1930 had been a presage of Democratic victory; and nothing happened between then and election day, 1932, to reassure the country and restore faith in Republican methods.

CHAPTER XXXVII

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT AND THE NEW DEAL

THE ELECTION OF 1932

THERE was no real opposition to the renomination of Hoover in 1932. The machine politicians had not picked him, in the first place; but he had built, between 1920 and 1928, his own machine, and it had an even stronger control in 1932 than four years before. The situation was all different, among the Democrats. To aid his friend, Governor Smith of New York, candidate for President in 1928, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, a distant cousin of Theodore Roosevelt's who had been Assistant Secretary of the Navy like the earlier Roosevelt, consented to run for governor of New York. At this time Franklin Roosevelt, it was said, was reluctant to reenter politics, and did it to aid Smith's presidential chances. The result of the election was that Smith lost New York state; but Franklin Roosevelt carried it, for governor. He made a popular and efficient governor. Theodore Roosevelt had always been his ideal. He began to lay plans, encouraged by his supporters, to capture the Democratic nomination in 1932.

There were several possibilities before the Democrats. Governor Smith still had a tremendous following among Democrats, who felt that he had been robbed of the nomination in 1924, had been defeated on an unfair and irrelevant religious issue in 1928, and was entitled to the nomination in 1932, when every indication was that there

would be a Democratic victory. There was a strong movement on foot to pick Newton D. Baker, who had succeeded Garrison as Woodrow Wilson's Secretary of War. Baker had been a liberal Tom L. Johnson man in Cleveland, when Johnson ran on a 3 cent street railroad fare issue years before. He had inherited some of the party's distrust of Wilson, along with the support of the strong Wilson group still remaining. Baker was a brilliant executive, but in physical appearance he lacked some of the impressiveness of the other candidates. The conservatives turned rather to Governor Ritchie of Maryland, a splendid and popular executive. And meanwhile the strong backers of the governor of New York state were lining up their forces and corraling their votes. At the convention, Roosevelt secured the nomination. His running mate was John Nance Garner, a leading Democratic Congressman from Texas for many years.

The election was an unprecedented landslide for the Democrats. In the popular vote, Hoover's 21,392,190 figure of 1928 shrank to 15,761,841, only slightly more than Smith had received four years before. Roosevelt's vote was the largest ever received by a candidate for President, 22,821,857. The Republican vote in Alabama dropped 70 percent, in Mississippi over 80 percent, and correspondingly throughout the South. Hoover carried Maine, Connecticut, Vermont in New England, and New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Delaware in the Middle Atlantic States: and that was all—not a Mid-Western, Western, border, or Southern state. The electoral vote stood 472 for Roosevelt to 59 for Hoover. Not since 1896 had defeated presidential candidates made such a depressing showing in the electoral college. The Socialist vote for Norman Thomas was 884,781, more than double his vote in 1928. There were far fewer numbers of votes for Socialist-Labor, Communist, Prohibition, Liberty party candidates. "General" Coxey, who had led the march on Washington of the unemployed

in the spring of 1894, received 7,309 votes 36 years later as the Farmer-Labor candidate. But the country showed no inclination to disturb its two-party system, which was only threatened by the Progressive movement of 1912, led by the belligerent ex-Republican ex-President Theodore Roosevelt, who had never ceased to be an idol of the whole nation.

In this landslide for Franklin Roosevelt, Congress went overwhelmingly Democratic. The Republican majority of 1 in the Senate dissolved into a Democratic majority of 23; and the Democratic majority of 5 in the house leapt to the amazing majority of 196. There had never been such a party majority before. It augured well for the wholehearted success of Democratic efforts to end the depression and restore prosperity. During the campaign, President Hoover had grown gloomier and gloomier in his prophecies of what would happen to the country, if a Democrat were permitted to enter the White House. This reached its climax in his doleful prophecy that a Democratic victory would mean that grass would be growing in the principal business streets of every city in the country. But the Democratic victory was complete, and the gloomy predictions were forgotten in the jubilations.

THE PROBLEMS OF 1932, AND THE NEW DEAL

On February 14, 1933, an epidemic of "bank holidays" struck the country, commencing with an order issued by Governor W. A. Comstock of Michigan, closing the banks of that state for eight days. By the time for Roosevelt's inauguration, the whole banking system of the country was faced with paralysis. On February 24th, Minnesota banned the foreclosure of mortgages on farms and homes. The movement spread to other states. No President on entering office was ever faced with a more serious situation than that facing Franklin Delano Roosevelt on his inauguration. It is idle to speculate what a weakling could have done, in the

face of such a menacing threat of national bankruptcy and the ensuing anarchy. Roosevelt did not turn out to be a weakling.

He had been born at the family estate on the Hudson, Krum Elbow, just south of Hyde Park, New York, on January 30, 1882. He was the 8th in direct line from Claes Martenszan van Rosenvelt (or Roosevelt), who arrived in New Amsterdam, the Dutch name for New York, about 1649. Theodore Roosevelt had been descended from the same Dutch colonial ancestor. Franklin D. Roosevelt had been State Senator, delegate to the 1912 Baltimore Democratic convention as a Woodrow Wilson adherent, Assistant Secretary of the Navy under Wilson, Vice-Presidential candidate in 1920 as the running mate of Governor Cox of Ohio. He was stricken with infantile paralysis in August, 1921, which paralyzed his legs; but he had fought his way back to health and strength, and could now walk with canes and steel braces fitted to his legs. In 1928 he had unwillingly become a candidate for governor of New York, to aid the presidential aspirations of his friend Al Smith; and he had won, while the self-made New Yorker had been defeated. He was married to a remote cousin, a niece of Theodore Roosevelt, who was as full of the typical Roosevelt energy as her uncle or her husband. It was to this man that the destinies of the United States had been entrusted, when the awful days of the spring of 1933 rolled around.

Roosevelt had been elected primarily as a protest against depression conditions and President Hoover's method of handling that financial and economic crisis. His support had come primarily from two irreconcilable elements, the reactionary Democratic Solid South and the liberal and radical elements in West and North. His cabinet reflected this composite support. From the South came the Secretary of State, Cordell Hull of Tennessee, who had never been prominent in national affairs except as a Southern Congress-

man; Secretary of the Navy Claude A. Swanson of Virginia; and Secretary of Commerce Daniel C. Roper of South Carolina. For Attorney General, he had selected Senator Walsh of Montana, the ablest governmental criminal prosecutor in the United States; and it was generally understood that Walsh was to proceed against all those involved in the Teapot Dome and other scandals arising in the previous three Republican administrations, and might involve higher-ups in his prosecution. Walsh died suddenly before Roosevelt's inauguration, and Homer S. Cummings of Connecticut took his place. Other Eastern liberal opinion that had supported Roosevelt was represented by the Secretary of the Treasury, Henry Morgenthau, Jr., of New York, and by Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins of New York, a well known social worker, and the first woman ever to be appointed to a presidential cabinet. For Postmaster General, James A. Farley, of New York, who had been Roosevelt's campaign manager, was selected—an appointment that was criticized as much as Harding's appointment of Daugherty was. The radical Western support was represented by Henry A. Wallace of Iowa as Secretary of Agriculture, George H. Dern of Utah as Secretary of War, and Harold L. Ickes of Illinois as Secretary of the Interior. It was a strangely conglomerate group, and no one but a master of men could have secured unanimity of action from them. To some extent Franklin D. Roosevelt did this.

Roosevelt became, in the emergency that confronted him, the master of more than his cabinet. He became the unquestioned commander of the actions of both Houses of Congress, securing the passage of every emergency measure that he asked for. Congress fumed a bit and admitted openly that it had laid aside deliberation, to obey. The emergency justified, and Roosevelt was strong enough to achieve this command. On March 6th, by executive order from the White House, all the banks in the United States

were closed. Congress, assembled in special session hurriedly, granted to the President dictatorial power over all forms of money. These dictatorial powers, whose exercise was called the New Deal, were soon extended to cover much of our national financial, economic, industrial and social life.

The movement to collect hoarded gold from the people commenced early in March. On April 19th, the President banned all gold exports. On June 5th, he signed an Act of Congress that he had asked for, outlawing the gold-payment clause in all contracts, public and private, and even in national promises to pay in gold printed on national paper money. In October, the government began to buy domestic and foreign gold at prices above the market level, in an effort to raise the level of commodity prices. On June 13th, Congress enacted the National Industrial Recovery Act. A month before, it had passed the Agricultural Adjustment Act. These gave the President practically dictatorial control over industry and agriculture. General Hugh S. Johnson was placed over the situation. Cotton, wheat and other crops were subsidized on an acreage-reduction basis: that is, farmers were paid compensation for reducing their crops. This did not take effect without farm produce and milk strikes; but it slowly became accepted. Most of the industries of the country accepted the N. R. A. codes, without serious objection. Henry Ford, the automobile manufacturer, refused to sign the code, as an infringement of his individual rights. He was the outstanding example of a smouldering spirit of dissatisfaction with the exercise of the quiet dictatorship from the White House.

Roosevelt acted swiftly in many directions. He called upon Congress to repeal the prohibition amendment to the Constitution. Even before his inauguration, the Senate and House enacted the 21st amendment, repealing the 18th. This had been ratified by 37 states on November 7th, and became the law of the land. The announced purpose of the

repeal plea was to put more people to work, to add to government revenues, and to speed recovery. On March 21st, Congress interpreted the Volstead Prohibition Enforcement Act as legalizing 3.2 percent beer, and on April 7th this went into effect in states without state prohibition.

THE NEW DEAL UNDER FIRE

Back in 1917 and 1918, it had been easy for the idealist Woodrow Wilson to announce that the world was at war, and that we joined that war, "to make the world safe for democracy." The Versailles Peace Treaty went a long way toward negating that idealistic announcement. Even before it had been determined upon, one country had accepted a wholesale dictatorship—Russia, under the Bolshevik regime. Lenin and Trotzky openly advocated and practiced what they claimed was a necessary preliminary step to the final cooperative commonwealth—a "dictatorship of the proletariat," the proletariat being defined as the propertyless group of laborers produced by capitalism. This dictatorship resolved itself into a dictatorship by the Bolshevik soviet commissars and strict party members. Assaults of armies of reactionaries, supported largely by foreign funds, led by Denikin, Wrangel, and others, failed to shake the hold of the Bolshevik dictatorship upon the Russian people. The dictatorship was buttressed by bloody force; was proud to admit its undemocratic character; was opposed to the "bourgeois rights of free speech, free press and the like"; and permitted no criticism. Russia has made astonishing industrial progress under this dictatorship (first headed by Lenin, and now by Stalin), growing stronger year by year in spite of wide opposition. The United States did not recognize the Bolshevik dictatorship until November 16, 1933, when diplomatic relations were resumed—the first American ambassador to Russia being William C. Bullitt, of Philadelphia, who had married the widow of John Reed,

an idealistic Harvard graduate who had become a Russian Bolshevik commissar and is buried in Russia.

On October 27, 1922, the Fascist party, led by ex-Socialist Benito Mussolini, captured Rome in a bloodless revolution. This too was a labor movement, opposed to the communist theories of the Bolsheviki (which have become increasingly modified in the direction of state capitalism), and in favor of a state capitalism, or state ownership and management of industry, as opposed to private ownership and management. It was nationalistic, where the Russian aim was internationalistic, designed to lead the world into a world-wide proletarian dictatorship. As in the case of Russia, democratic government was abolished, and a rigid censorship of the press and free speech was instituted. Syndicalism, or government by representatives of the various industries, replaced political democracy. This government was supported by bristling bayonets; and it initiated a war of territorial aggrandizement against Ethiopia (Abyssinia) in late 1935, overriding all efforts of the League of Nations to prevent this.

In 1933 the National Socialist German Labor Party, the Nazis, succeeded at last in setting up a dictatorship in Germany, under the leadership of Adolph Hitler, an Austrian. The Nazis were nationalistic, anti-Semitic, and in favor of something vaguely named as Aryan civilization. This dictatorship was supported in 1934 by 93.5 percent of the people of Germany. Other countries have shown a definite swing toward dictatorships; and the emergency actions of President Roosevelt and his advocates of the New Deal, continued during the two years that followed, were a mild variation of the same spirit of sole executive decision, as opposed to a democracy, with its deliberative legislature determining policies and exercising control.

The first test of the New Deal, as far as popular approval was concerned, occurred in the Congressional elec-

tions of 1934. Clearly the New Deal policies were a radical departure from all that had hitherto been recognized as democratic and American. Here was loose constructionism gone wild, demanded, its adherents said, by emergency conditions. The Republicans appealed to the conservative Americanism of the people of the United States, and fought vigorously for the election of a Congress that would be Republican in both houses, and hence a major rebuke to the "usurpations" of the New Deal faction. The result of the elections was an increased Democratic majority everywhere: 69 to 25 in the Senate, a majority of 44—and there had been no such Senate majority in the whole history of the country, even in the years of greatest Republican dominance; and 322 Democrats to 102 Republicans in the House of Representatives, with 10 independents—a majority of 220 or 210, depending on how the independents were figured: by all odds the largest majority in the House since the origin of the government.

The Republicans received some comfort in the elections of 1935, in which they carried the New York state legislature and minor offices in certain other states, although losing an election for the governorship in Kentucky fought over the New Deal. In the unsettled present, with the staccato temper of living, every such straw is significant. It is interesting that no President who ever received an increased Congressional majority during the by-election following his election ever failed of reelection. Opponents of the New Deal needed all the encouragement they could get, to sinew them to crystallize this opposition into victory.

The one conservative department of the government, the judiciary, refused to be converted to this emergency dictatorship. Minor federal judges, while occasionally sustaining as constitutional various enactments of the Roosevelt administration, at times declared certain of its vital principles unconstitutional. On May 27, 1935, the Supreme

Court of the United States handed down a decision, declaring much of the National Industrial Recovery Act to be unconstitutional. Strengthened by this, item after item of the Roosevelt program then was declared unconstitutional by various federal courts, including the important A. A. A. (Agricultural Adjustment Act). For, unless the judiciary is subservient to the executive and legislative departments, it becomes an effective obstacle against them.

The theory of our government was of (1) a law-making body, the legislative department; (2) a law-enforcing body, the executive; and (3) an arbitrating and penalty-enforcing department, the judiciary. We have permitted our law-making bodies to grow oversized and unwieldy, and this has resulted in their loss of the right of initiative in law-making, which clearly was intended by the founders of the government. The judiciary has added to its intended powers, as we have seen. The executive, especially in an age of world dictators, has become the law-designing as well as the law-enforcing body. These things are facts of history, whether we favor them or not. Opponents of the New Deal relied on the Supreme Court to save the Constitution from New Deal attacks. This was ironical, as New Deal advocates pointed out, reminding us how the right to declare laws unconstitutional was never granted to the Supreme Court, but is a "usurpation" achieved by Chief Justice John Marshall, that this "saving of the Constitution" can only be done by the Supreme Court, by acting unconstitutionally.

THE UNRESTS OF THE 1930'S

World conditions toward the end of 1935 were far from reassuring. During the 21 years since the outbreak of the World War, the race for armaments had proceeded at an increased tempo, a process hastened by the emergence of dictatorships in the cases of the leading world powers already referred to. The League of Nations had proved itself

to be as powerless as the Articles of Confederation under which the liberated American states were governed between 1781 and 1789, since it lacked an effective executive arm—a world executive, buttressed by an international army and navy. The Italian-Ethiopian war of 1935 was but one added proof of the inability of the League of Nations to prevent warfare, no matter how solemnly the nations had pledged themselves to abjure it, as an article of national policy. Another World War was in the air; its date of outbreak, its rival line-ups, all uncertain, but all threatening.

In 1934, the United States Senate went at one of the sources of international discords, when it conducted an exhaustive investigation into armament and munitions makers. It established:

1. National peace policies have been defied or circumvented by private armament interests operating for profit.
2. Bribery is accepted as a necessary element in promoting armament sales.
3. Armament firms commonly sell to both sides in wars and revolutions.
4. Armament firms speed up national armament rivalries.
5. British, German and American armament firms are secretly linked together.

No action has been taken upon these revelations, a milder version of which in 1914 cost the French Socialist Jaurès his life. A listing of wartime profits of more than \$1,000,000 per individual, to some extent from munitions investments, was also made public by this committee. No action has been taken upon this revelation.

The year 1934 was notable for many things. It was the year of the most dreadfully punishing drought that ever visited the United States, and indeed the world. In the

mid-West, this condition threatened to return large areas into worthless desert.

Our government increasingly began to function through alphabetical relief organizations, created because of the national emergency—the most extensive application of loose constructionist principles ever tried in the United States. From the AAA—Agricultural Adjustment Administration—far beyond the TVA—Tennessee Valley Authority—a wilderness of initials replaced the simpler functioning of the executive through the ten Departments (State, Interior, and so on), often permitting red tape and delay through inter-organizational entanglements.

The Boulder Dam, the largest in the world, was opened in 1935. The actual condition of the people, in their various industries, both as producers and consumers, showed disappointing improvement over 1932; and this condition continued beyond 1940. The figures on unemployment fluctuated; but they remained menacingly large. The method of direct relief, that is, the granting of the dole or charity, in general was replaced by federal employment. This was a far sounder social policy than the dole; but it was a novelty in the United States to contemplate some 5,000,000 to 10,000,000 otherwise “unemployed” on the federal pay roll, and apparently there to stay.

THE UNITED STATES AS A WORLD POWER

The United States, no matter what its immediate political leadership or its ups and downs of domestic and foreign problems, increasingly revealed many elements of national strength. The political history of a country is always a belated reflection of its economic status. If the United States had been an exclusively agricultural country, it would naturally have developed a political policy and history growing out of this. Instead, our country is agricultural, mining, manu-

facturing, and financial. The government which we have and will have in the future will always represent a compromise between these various elements, the dominant always representing the strongest element in our national economic structure. At present, these forces and interests are fairly well balanced. This balance formed a nation tremendously strong, fit to play its part in the Machine Age of man.

Take population, always a potential index of importance. In 1935, we had an increase in the population of continental United States of one person every 36 seconds. Adding our outlying possessions, our population compared thus with the rest of the world:

United States (1940)	150,621,231
South America (1939)	88,680,000
Africa (1939)	157,330,000
Australia (1943)	7,246,612
Europe, excluding the USSR (1939) ..	402,800,000
Asia, excluding the USSR (1939)	1,154,000,000
U S S R (1940)	192,695,710

Asia alone had more than six times as many people as the United States; and its ideals and practices differed from ours in every way.

Approximately 150,000 persons are born every day throughout the world, and 100,000 die, giving a net increase of 50,000 per day in world population. The daily increase in the United States is almost 3,800.

The remarkable growth of the American cities is one of the impressive illustrations of the country's development towards urbanized industry. Seventy years ago, the village of Seattle, Washington, had a population of only 1,107; in 1940, it had 368,302. Los Angeles skyrocketed, in the same period, from 5,728 to 1,504,277; Detroit vaulted sensationally from 79,577 in 1870 to 1,623,452. Other comparative figures are:

	1870	1940
New York	1,478,103	7,454,995
Chicago	298,977	3,396,808
Philadelphia	674,022	1,931,334
Cleveland	92,829	878,336
Baltimore	267,354	859,100
St. Louis	310,864	816,048
Boston	250,526	770,816
Pittsburgh	139,256	671,659
San Francisco	149,473	634,536
Milwaukee	71,440	587,472

The United States probably leads the world in popular education. In the school year of 1939-40, 26,759,899 pupils were enrolled in the public elementary and secondary schools, and 3,343,908 in the private schools, making a grand total of 30,103,707. Of this number, approximately 5,550,000 were enrolled in the secondary schools and high schools. Nearly a million and a half students attended American colleges and universities. An army of almost a million teachers was employed. The total expenditures for public school education were \$2,322,697,688, with over seven billion dollars invested in school property.

According to the 1933 report of the United States Office of Education, the high school enrollment within a period of 30 years had increased from a little over 10 per cent of the population of high school age to more than 50 per cent of that population. During the same period in Europe, only eight to 10 per cent attended the secondary schools.

Americans belong primarily to the Christian religions, with an admixture of Jews and of many other sects. But the total number of Christians in the world is just over 600,000,000, of which we are less than one fourth; and the number of non-Christians in the world is far above a billion.

Americans are primarily English-speaking. More than 270,000,000 in the world speak the English language,—and more than half of these are Americans. Almost twice as

many people speak Chinese; and hundreds of thousands more speak the languages of India, Japan, Europe, the Pacific Islands and Africa.

Well before 1940, we had become of necessity one of the world powers. Our actual participation in world affairs, as we have pointed out, extended to every land on the globe. Increasingly it had become impossible to evade the responsibilities that this imposed. Industrially and economically interwoven, of our own insistence, into the affairs of the entire globe, no policy of political isolation could suit us further. A sudden flare-up in the explosive Balkans, in backward Ethiopia, in the remote Pacific Islands that marked the boundary between the United States and Japan, in restive Africa, in volatile South America, might at any time embroil us with the rest of the family of nations in a global war, more destructive than the last to an unbelievable degree. We had the privilege, in World War I, of sending our soldiers abroad to fight on foreign shores in other lands, with our own homeland untouched. We could not forever have this exemption from warfare at home.

In 1934, we were still striving for a naval ratio of 5:5:3, which would give us a navy as great as England's, with Japan three-fifths as strong, and the other nations lagging. In 1935, we had an active army of 132,052 men and officers, and a reserve bringing the total up to almost 445,000. Seventeen nations exceeded our armed strength: U. S. S. R., Italy, Spain, China, Japan, Poland, Yugoslavia, the British Empire, Czechoslovakia, Belgium, France, Germany, Greece, Rumania, Sweden, Turkey, and Switzerland—even Switzerland, with a population only one-thirty-fifth of ours. Italy's air force alone was then larger than our entire regular army.

Strangely enough, to students of international affairs, this was nothing to worry about. Modern wars are not won by armies, but by peoples. And not by excess of population alone, but by this plus determination, finances, and most of

all mechanical resources. It was in this field that the United States could take full comfort from such a display of Machine Age leadership as no other nation could approach.

Take the raw materials of a Machine Age culture, first of all. Here are the figures for water power, developed and potential—the last reliable figures in horsepower, those of 1933, being:

	<i>Developed</i>	<i>Potential</i>
United States	14,885,000	38,000,000
Canada	6,125,000	18,000,000
Italy	4,840,000	3,800,000
Japan	3,500,000	6,000,000
France	2,300,000	5,400,000
Switzerland	2,300,000	2,500,000
Germany	2,000,000	2,000,000
Norway	1,900,000	9,500,000
Sweden	1,675,000	5,000,000

No nation outside of these had developed as much as 1,000,000 h.p. Among countries with tremendous undeveloped water power were:

Belgian Congo	90,000,000
French Congo	35,000,000
India	27,000,000
China	20,000,000
Brazil	15,100,000
French Camerouns	13,000,000

Only one spot on the earth's surface, the Belgian Congo, was richer in water power than we; and there was small danger so far of rivalry from that source.

For another source of vital power, the total output of crude petroleum in the United States, in 1938, was 1,503,200,000 barrels. We led U. S. S. R., our nearest rival, more than 7 to 1. Venezuela made a poor third.

In the field of agriculture, which feeds and sinews the Machine Age, the United States led. In crop acreage, the

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world's leading countries then were, according to the estimates:

United States	321,242,000
British India	310,585,000
U. S. S. R.	129,675,000
Native Indian states	85,756,000
Argentina	62,818,000
France	52,222,000
Germany	47,970,000

and less in other countries. In the exporting of wheat, just before World War II, we led Australia, the second ranking country, 3 to 2, and had a larger excess over the Argentine. British India alone among the countries had more livestock than the United States—U. S. S. R., China, the Argentine, Brazil and Germany following us in that order. In sugar production, breadstuffs, and meat, the United States was then pre-eminent among the nations.

When we come to the iron and steel output—and the Machine Age was in reality an iron and steel age—the leading countries then ranked as follows:

	<i>Iron</i>	<i>Steel</i>
United States	61,007,439	89,641,600
U. S. S. R.	21,170,000	18,250,000
Germany	18,221,000	22,876,000
United Kingdom	6,763,000	10,394,000
France	5,954,000	6,077,000

The German, French and Russian figures are in metric tons, of 2,204.6 lbs. each; the others, gross tons, of 2,240 lbs. each. Production in the countries not listed was too small to be significant.

In the matter of roads, the leadership of the United States was unbelievably great. Here were the world's leading countries, as far as 1935 actual road mileage is concerned:

United States	3,009,065
U. S. S. R.	1,684,109
Japan	655,399
Australia	415,799
France	405,132
India	255,280
Germany	216,271
United Kingdom	177,256

The United States then had more than one-third of the world's total road mileage. We are not used to considering such matters, when we think of our position among the world powers. And yet this figure is infinitely more important, even in warfare, than the actual military enrollment in armies.

In railroads, as we might expect to find, the leadership was even more clearly in the United States. The leading countries then were:

Miles under Operation

United States (1938)	236,842
U. S. S. R. (1937)	53,163
Canada (1937)	42,702
India (1938)	41,076
Germany (1938)	38,107
France (1937)	26,583

with Australia, the Argentine, and Great Britain coming next in that order. In automobile registration,

United States	32,557,954
Rest of the world	12,818,937

In production of automobiles, we led just as surprisingly. This has been called the Motor Age; and the heart of it was in the United States.

The United States had 26,859,000 telephones in operation—the rest of the world slightly less. The United States led the world in radio, with 660 broadcasting stations, and 56,000,000 receiving sets. Our nearest competitor here was

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the United Kingdom with 26 stations and 6,124,000 sets (1935). The other nations lagged far behind.

None of these facts is significant in itself. It would have been a serious mistake to have let them breed a false glow of confidence. But they are all a part of the picture of our actual leadership in the Machine Age. And the American heritage of an aggressive love of individual liberty, which animated our activities in all fields, was an even stronger augury that we could be counted upon in the long run to work out our destiny in some way that would improve mankind's major struggles, and not set mankind back toward medievalism and the dark ages of barbarism and savagery that preceded it.

CULTURE IN THE MACHINE AGE

America began groping toward its cultural maturity in the half century commencing in 1885. Up to that time, in spite of exceptional individuals, it had been largely provincial to England and the rest of Europe. Something of that spirit still persists. But there is not an art that did not show astonishing progress, especially after 1910; and this was one of the highly encouraging facts of the half century ending in 1935.

American music had begun to come into its own, especially in the Negro spirituals and seculars, and in such developments of jazz or syncopation as the music of George Gershwin. Dancing today has become less utilitarian, since it has lost the wide religious significance it had among primitive races; but America is one of the leaders in the world development of interpretative dancing in the present epoch. Painting, which originated both as magical symbols and as a part of architecture, is still uncertain in its aims. But the art of Grant Wood, Thomas Benton, Curry, Burchfield, and a few more Americans, is as significant as any painting in the world, and is rapidly gaining an international reputation.

Leading American sculptors include Augustus Saint-Gaudens, George Grey Barnard, Alexander Stirling Calder, Paul Manship and Arthur Lee.

There are two utilitarian arts which have shown tremendous progress. The first of these is the writing of prose. Prose is used for propaganda: a means of arousing emotions, to get something done. It may be a remote escape propaganda, as of someone utterly dissatisfied with the world as it is, who sees only a flight back into the golden past or some imagined world. When it is most effective, it paints the present so that we wish to alter it, or pictures the desired future as it may be. In fiction, the United States is as noteworthy as any country in the world. Theodore Dreiser, Ernest Hemingway, Sinclair Lewis, John Steinbeck, are outstanding in this field. In biography, history, the sciences, the American contribution is the equal of any in the world today. And, in return, society supports the acceptable writers of prose in a princely manner.

Along with this goes American drama, made significant by the contributions of Eugene O'Neill, Maxwell Anderson, Paul Green, Marc Connelly, Lillian Hellman, and so many more; and the amazing development of the moving picture industry, which has transplanted drama, both as to sight and hearing, to the silver screen, for the millions to enjoy. The development in radio, with its infinite possibilities for amusement and information, as well as for direct propaganda, also shows the United States in the forefront.

Of all the arts, the utilitarian art of architecture has made, next to prose writing, the most significant progress. American step-back or pyramid architecture, as evidenced in the finest skyscrapers, is a contribution to this fine art as important as the development of the Grecian orders of architecture, or of Gothic. It is distinctively American, and as useful as it is beautiful, in its magnificent functional simplicity. It has brought with it a new interior decorating and furniture,

which, when marked by Machine Age simplicity and usefulness, produces results which bear comparison with the products of any age of man's cultural heights.

Poetry, the concentrated expression in words of man's desires, is not so immediately utilitarian; and the poets individually do not fare any better under modern conditions than hitherto. One reason is that they still surrender much of their concentrated product to the label of prose. Sidney Lanier, a post-Civil War Southerner, spoke flatly the harsh early insistence of the Machine Age in *The Symphony*:

*The kilns and the curt-tongued mills say: Go:
There's plenty that can, if you can't; we know.
Move out, if you think you're underpaid.
The poor are prolific; we're not afraid;
Trade is Trade.*

Edwin Markham's resonant *The Man with the Hoe* caught something of a forecast of what has happened in Russia, and differently in so many other places:

*O masters, lords and rulers in all lands,
How will the future reckon with this man?
How answer his brute question, in that hour
When whirlwinds of rebellion shake all shores?
How will it be with kingdoms and with kings—
With those that shaped him to the thing he is—
When this dumb Terror shall rise to judge the world,
After the silence of the centuries?*

This tends too largely to visualizing labor as embodied in the agricultural worker; whereas, as history is developing, it is the industrial worker who is first with his questions. But the picture was significant, and shocked the conscience of the world.

The popular songs veered, during the first third of this century, from *I'm the Man Who Broke the Bank at Monte*

Carlo and *We're in the Money Now*, to *Goodbye, Mr. Greenback* and the anthem of the depression, *Brother, Can You Spare a Dime*. All art must mirror the soul of the artist and its perception of the soul of his time; and to this extent it is an index to the political and economic history of any period.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

THE NEW DEAL ASSAILS POVERTY

ROOSEVELT'S 1936 RE-ELECTION

AS THE 1936 presidential election approached, the Republicans admitted openly that they had only one slogan: "Stop Roosevelt!" There seemed no candidate capable of doing this. Hoover, by training and experience a corporation stock promoter and financier rather than an engineer, was thoroughly discredited by his incompetence in dealing with the depression commencing in 1929. Ogden Mills, Hoover's former Secretary of the Treasury, was the natural preference of the Republican Old Guard; but, to the voters at large he was merely a symbol of great wealth, in a country with nine million unemployed. Senator Borah of Idaho was an aging isolationist without followers; young Senator Vandenberg of Michigan had nothing to his credit beyond eloquence.

Suddenly William Randolph Hearst, disgruntled at his inability to control New Deal policies, discovered his own Moses for the leaderless Republicans, and trumpeted to the nation the virtues of "the strong, silent man of Kansas," Governor Alfred M. Landon. At this time, Hearst may not even have known that Landon owed his 1932 rise to power to a victory over the popular Kansas independent, Dr. John R. Brinkley, famous for his alleged transplantation of goat glands,—a Landon victory that a lot of people in Kansas attributed to vote-juggling.

Landon received the nomination. The platform consisted of little beyond a vituperative attack on the New Deal, which boiled down to the charge that it constituted a continued onslaught on Big Business. The New Deal platform linked, in the same paragraph, kidnappers, bandits, and "malefactors of great wealth who defraud and exploit the people." It promised that the United States would maintain the "Good Neighbor" policy toward all the world, and "continue" to observe a true "neutrality" during the "disputes" of other powers. As for the Supreme Court, which had already gone pretty far in wrecking the New Deal's achievements, it promised remedy by legislation within the Constitution, if possible; and, if not, by a "clarifying amendment" which would permit the States and the nation to continue to improve economic conditions.

During the campaign, the *Literary Digest* polls showed Landon increasingly the certain winner. Roosevelt's few speeches were hard-hitting. Landon fumbled, without personal magnetism, in vague promises to rationalize the New Deal program of social and economic legislation. When the votes were counted, Roosevelt had won by the largest majority of electoral votes ever polled—523 to 8; and by the largest popular majority, 27,476,673 to 16,679,583. The man from Kansas had carried only Maine and Vermont; even his native State had rejected him by a majority of 66,793. The *Literary Digest* was a minor casualty of the landslide.

THE FIGHT AGAINST POVERTY

Between his re-election and his second inauguration, the President visited Brazil and Argentina, where he attended the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace. He won wide acclaim for pledging United States protection to Latin America, against European attacks and entanglements. His inaugural address visioned the status of the nation with ghastly clarity:

I see millions of families trying to live on incomes so meagre that the pall of family disaster hangs over them day by day. . . . I see millions denied education, recreation, and the opportunity to better their lot and the lot of their children. I see millions lacking the means to buy the products of farm and factory and by their poverty denying work and productiveness to many other millions. I see one-third of a nation ill-housed, ill-clad, ill-nourished.

As a result, Roosevelt pledged the four years of his forthcoming term to the elimination of poverty. But by the end of his second term, this picture still left much to be desired. He had not been able to achieve a system of over-all government planning to eliminate economic insecurity, to guarantee a job, a living, a home, a minimum decent income, to any appreciable proportion of the people. Midway of the second term, there was instead a definite retrogression, with a marked increase in unemployment and a general business stagnation. American industry had little interest in full employment; unemployment was invaluable, as a backlog against strikes. Hence, even under Roosevelt's leadership, the goal was never fully achieved. Soon enough the President was to spearhead a vaster project, covering the globe; and, since industry made this cause its own, the success was complete.

On the positive side, the Wages and Hours Law was a definite step in the right direction; while the enactment of the Social Security Act was a wholesale effort to aid the inevitable victims of the crippling social system. This Act included some unemployment and old age insurance, as well as aid to the blind, to dependent and crippled children, and various other important social services.

By 1940, however, two factors promised at least to halve the dreadful figure of unemployment—for the first time since the figures had soared, under Hoover, to above 12,000,000.

These two factors were peacetime conscription, and the immense national rearmament program. In 1937, however, this was all still far ahead in the explosive future.

THE FIGHT AGAINST THE SUPREME COURT

On February 5, 1937, two weeks after his inaugural, Roosevelt sprang on Congress and the country his own bill to revise the federal judiciary. This bill provided for the appointment of a new federal judge whenever an incumbent failed to resign or retire within six months after reaching the age of seventy. Not more than fifty such judges should be appointed, of whom not more than six could be added to the Supreme Court.

The legalitarians of both parties frothed at the mouth at this effort to "pack the courts," to "undermine the judicial bulwark of the Constitution." The Supreme Court itself preserved a discreet silence under attack; but it did swiftly revise its thinking on many current problems. On March 29th, it upheld a minimum wage law from the State of Washington, by a five to four vote; while less than a year before it had voided a similar law from New York. To achieve this about-face, Justice Roberts switched his vote; and this one man's change of front amended the Constitution quite as effectively and far more swiftly than if President, Congress and a plebiscite had done the job.

Two weeks later, the Court upheld the Wagner Labor Relations Act—and even the *New York Times* choralled this as a *volte face* on the part of the Court, and a notable Roosevelt victory. On May 24th, the Court upheld two social insurance acts. Then one of the leading reactionaries of the Court, Justice Van Devanter, announced his forthcoming withdrawal from the Court. This gave the President the precise chance he was waiting for—since the Court already had a nucleus of liberals, consisting of Justices Stone, Brandeis and Cardozo, with Chief Justice Hughes often

veering toward their loose interpretation of the Constitution.

Roosevelt fired his bombshell by nominating Senator Hugo L. Black of Alabama to fill the vacancy. Black was a 100 per cent New Dealer, in whom conservatives saw no marked judicial qualifications. The flattered Senate confirmed the nomination promptly. A Pittsburgh newspaper thereupon published facsimiles purporting to establish that Justice Black was a life member of the revived Ku Klux Klan, with its malodorous record of anti-Negro, anti-Catholic and anti-Semitic outrages. Returning from Europe, Black announced over a nationwide radio hookup that he had once joined the Klan; had soon resigned; knew nothing of a life-membership card; and stood wholly against religious and racial intolerance. The issue died down, and he became an outstanding jurist and liberal leader in the Court.

In the next three years, Roosevelt appointed to fill vacancies on the same Court four more liberals—Stanley F. Reed of Kentucky; Felix Frankfurter of Massachusetts; William O. Douglas of Connecticut; and Frank Murphy of Michigan. The President's plan for the reconstruction of the Court was defeated, but he had filled the Court with his own majority.

LABOR AND ACTS OF GOD

A country as large as the continental United States encounters its share of natural disasters, which complicate all efforts toward the orderly progress of civilization. In 1932, the annual equinoctial hurricane ripped across the Virgin Islands and Puerto Rico, with a loss of more than 3,344 lives, a wreckage of 26,249 buildings, and a property loss exceeding \$30,000,000. In 1937, aggravated flood conditions in the valleys of the Mississippi, Allegheny and Ohio Rivers and their tributaries killed more than 900, and flooded over 500,000 homes. In September of that year, the equinoctials

swept the Atlantic seaboard of New York, Connecticut, Rhode Island and Massachusetts, killing over 500, rendering 100,000 people homeless, and causing a property damage of over \$500,000,000. Worst of all was the condition, which slowly grew worse from 1934 onward, which turned the flourishing grainfields of a strip of central States—North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, Oklahoma, and the northern strip of Texas,—into the Dust Bowl, almost a sterile desert. Reckless deforestation and unscientific farming had exacted their price.

The depression commencing in 1929 hit the organized labor movement like an attack of paralysis. Obviously, factories and mills closed down meant labor union men sucked into the maelstrom of the unemployed, and unable to pay their union dues. Threats of President William Green of the American Federation of Labor that this would lead to industrial revolution, failed entirely to materialize. The labor officials themselves kept organized American labor tame. When the New Deal came into power these leaders advocated minor reforms rather than any large program of action. The most that American labor demanded at this time was a continuation of the eight-hour day and the prevailing wage scale on the emergency public enterprises.

The National Recovery Act (NRA) of 1933 did emerge with its famous section 7a, providing for collective bargaining by labor; but there was no agreement as to its precise meaning. The four existing types of labor groups—craft unions, often many of them to each plant; company unions, management-controlled and each limited to its own plant; industrial or vertical unions, independent bodies governing all the workers of a plant, within the A. F. of L. or without; and the unorganized employees who also had the right of collective bargaining—these four types came to no agreement as to the meaning of the subsection. The NRA codes

were a brief boon to labor. When the Supreme Court scuttled the Act, the gains vanished.

The steel industry had so far proved impervious to all craft unionism. The rubber and automobile industries were almost as impregnable. The National Labor Relations Board, under the Wagner Labor Relations Act of 1935, restored some order. The A. F. of L. had always had some industrial unions, such as the United Mine Workers. The trend after 1933 gave craft unions a 13 per cent increase in membership, and industrial unions more than 100 per cent. In 1934, the Federation officially approved vertical or industrial unions. But nothing was done to implement this resolution, until John L. Lewis of the United Mine Workers, on November 9, 1935, organized the Committee for Industrial Organization (CIO), as an adjunct of the A. F. of L. When this grew with menacing rapidity, the A. F. of L. in 1936 suspended the ten chief industrial unions, with a membership of approximately 1,000,000.

Lewis was one of the most aggressive leaders that American labor had ever produced. He did not mince words, in pointing out the growing millions of unemployed:

. . . as the nation drifts with terrifying and deadly sureness to the never, never realm of financial bankruptcy, economic collapse, and human tragedy.

The CIO assailed the steel industry, first of all; and in March, 1937, came to terms with United States Steel. The employers found the technique of this union to their liking, being quite willing to collect union dues at the source, in return for a guarantee that there would be only one labor body to deal with in each plant. By the end of the year, the CIO had a membership of more than 4,000,000, slightly more than the A. F. of L. membership.

It was the CIO that first utilized on a large scale the "sit-down strike," amounting to a passive taking over of the property of the employers. This was finally held illegal by

own share in world markets, and that it could at the same time preserve a complete political isolationism. This latter viewpoint ignored the obvious truism that government is merely the organization and policing of rights, including economic as well as personal; and that, if our industry became international, our government had to keep step with our industry.

The first cross-current occurred when the Spanish-American War gave the Republican imperialists, under McKinley, a chance to acquire lands outside of continental United States. We had to free Cuba—for we had gone to war to secure Cuba's independence—even though the Platt Amendment was a successful method of keeping Cuba tied for years to our apron-strings. There was no such local independence group, with world sympathy aroused in its favor, in Puerto Rico or Guam, but it took us two years to crush the Philippine insurrection. And now we had Caribbean Puerto Rico and the two Pacific colonies—the latter obviously related closely to Japan, China and the Sunda archipelago.

Taking these islands probably violated our own Monroe Doctrine, by which we agreed not to interfere with European methods of government; and, by extension, Asiatic and western Pacific matters as well. As definitely, it violated what might have been our Monroe Doctrine for Asia: Asia for the Asiatics.

In 1898, we took over the independent Hawaiian Islands. These are legitimately a part of the Americas. In 1900, in the same enthusiastic wave of imperialism, we took over American Samoa, half-way between Australia and Hawaii, by virtue of a treaty with Great Britain and Germany. In 1903, we inspired a revolution in Panama which gave us the Canal Zone. In 1914, we forced on Haiti a military occupation, in close co-operation with American banking interests. In 1922, we did the same thing to Nicaragua. Justifiable Latin-American bitterness at all this made us withdraw our Marines

from Nicaragua in 1925. This was the extent of our sketchy colonial empire, except for a few lesser islands, when the New Deal replaced the imperialistic Republicans in 1933.

The New Deal functioned, on the whole, anti-imperialistically. In 1934, we granted the Philippines a limited independence as a self-governing Commonwealth, to be made complete in 1946—as, in spite of war and world chaos, it was. In that same 1934, we ended the twenty-year old running sore of our occupation of Haiti, after a score of years of wholesale financial exploitation. Puerto Rico was made increasingly autonomous, and in 1937 it took steps to solve its overpopulation by passing a Birth Control bill.

Meanwhile, Roosevelt's efforts to teach Latin-America that our selfish Dollar Diplomacy had been replaced by the Good Neighbor Policy began to take root. On February 23, 1939, the House of Representatives eliminated Guam from the naval construction program of national defense, after Japanese naval officers announced that our fortifying it would be "provocative." In July, we turned Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands into the control of the military department of the United States. The latter group had been bought by us from Denmark in 1917, to eliminate another European power from the New World, and to serve as an air and naval base guarding the Panama Canal. In 1940 we erected barriers against attack from Europe by acquiring from Great Britain eight naval bases scattered along the 4,500 mile line from Newfoundland to British Guiana, as part of our hemisphere defense program.

World conditions, from 1935 on, were far from reassuring. During the twenty-one years since the outbreak of World War I, the race for armaments had proceeded at an increased tempo, a process hastened by the emergence of the proletarian dictatorship in Russia, and the hijacking dictatorships in Italy, Germany, Spain, Japan, and elsewhere. The League of Nations had proved itself to be as powerless as had been

the Congress of the United States under the Articles of Confederation (1781-1789), since it lacked an effective executive arm—a world executive, implemented by an international army, navy and air force. The nations had solemnly pledged themselves to abjure war, as an article of national policy. All that these pacts had accomplished was that there had been no declarations of war since their signing, although the Japanese were bombing, raping and massacring the helpless Chinese, and Italy had bombed and gassed Ethiopia out of existence. Local disturbances, the isolationists called these; wiser minds knew that another World War had commenced.

In 1934, the United States Senate exposed one of the sources of international discords when it conducted an exhaustive investigation into armament and munition makers. Its committee established that:

1. National peace policies had been defied or circumvented by private armament interests operating for profit.
2. Bribery was accepted as a necessary element in promoting armament sales.
3. Armament firms commonly sold to both sides in wars and revolutions.
4. Armament firms sped up national armament rivalries.
5. British, German and American armament firms were secretly linked together.

No action was taken upon these revelations, a milder version of which, in 1914, had cost the life of the French Socialist statesman, Jaurès. A listing of wartime American profits of more than \$1,000,000 per individual, to some extent from munitions investments, was also made public by this committee. No action was taken upon these revelations, either.

CHAPTER XXXIX

THE OUTBREAK OF WORLD WAR II

FIRST ERUPTIONS

UNITED STATES history increasingly, after 1898, shifted its focus from the United States and the western hemisphere, into the explosive other hemisphere which American industry had already penetrated so widely and successfully.

World War I, 1914-18, had been sold to Americans and others as a "war to end war." In spite of this, in 1926 we again sent troops to Nicaragua. That same year, civil war in China caused the landing of troops by England, Japan, France, Spain, Portugal, Holland—and the United States. In the three years commencing in 1929, there were revolutions in Mexico, Bolivia, Peru (twice), Argentina, Brazil, Panama, Chile, Paraguay, Salvador and Spain. On September 18, 1931 Japan charged that Chinese soldiers had bombed the Japanese-owned South Manchuria Railway five miles north of Mukden; and at once, in "self-defense," launched a full-scale invasion of Manchuria. With this remote "incident," World War II may be said to have been commenced.

At this time Russia, under the Communist dictatorship of the proletariat, was preoccupied with the task of bringing to a backward agricultural people a highly mechanized culture. In two of the three restless Have Not powers, Italy and Germany, power had passed into the hands of totalitarian dictators. Mussolini and Hitler slowly emerged as hijackers both upon labor and capital: gangster govern-

puration head's employment after a mere eight years; that the inauguration date had similarly been altered from March 4 to January 20, to fit modern conditions; that the intention of a deliberative electoral college had been tacitly abolished; and that Thanksgiving had been moved forward a week by the President, to permit a longer period for Christmas shopping.

A large section of the Democratic Party did not accept this reasoning. Particularly not the professional politicians, whose ambitions included a change in administration, with a new shuffle of the New Deal. In the pre-nomination jockeying, the chief opposition to the third term movement centered in Vice-President John Nance Garner of Texas, whom John L. Lewis had described bitterly as "a labor-baiting, poker-playing, whiskey-drinking evil old man," to the vast indignation of his supporters. Other contestants, more loyal to the President, included Postmaster General Farley, Senator Burton K. Wheeler of Montana, and William C. Bullitt, ambassador to France. A number of State delegations were already pledged to several of these candidates. But the President refused blandly to answer any questions dealing with his third term plans, and the whole matter was left dangling until after the Republican Convention which assembled toward the end of June in Philadelphia.

The leading Republican candidates were reactionary Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio; Senator Vandenberg of Michigan; and Thomas E. Dewey, District Attorney of New York County. Taft, son of a former President and Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, was satisfactory to the Old Guard as a stolid and trustworthy party hack; but he lacked brilliance and vote-appeal. Vandenberg was a sound party man, without outstanding statesmanlike qualities. Dewey was an aggressive local prosecutor, who had been trounced for governor by Herbert Lehman in 1938, and clearly lacked age and national experience. Hopefully, ex-President Hoover

and ex-Governor Landon hovered in the background; but the annihilating defeats of 1932 and 1936 could not easily be forgotten.

In mid-spring, the leading opponent of the New Deal among industrial magnates suddenly emerged as a candidate—Wendell L. Willkie, president of the billion dollar Commonwealth and Southern Corporation, a privately owned public utilities company. He had fought bitterly against the T. V. A. development in the Tennessee Valley, and had not been mollified, in his opposition to the New Deal, by his receipt of checks totalling \$79,050,000, more than half of it government funds, on August 15, 1939, for the sale of the Tennessee Electric Power Company to the government and the concerned municipalities. Willkie had been a Democrat all his life, and had voted for the New Deal in 1932 and 1936; but now he had seen a new light. A movement began to spread mushroomlike for him, augmented by a growing realization of the weakness of the other Republican candidates.

Willkie won the nomination overwhelmingly. The Republican Old Guard accepted him reluctantly, since he had had no previous experience of any sort in public life and had taken no stand on national and international questions—barring a ratification of the New Deal except in its relationship to his own business. The wiser heads in the party realized the danger in nominating a corporation head, in a country which had refused, in 1924, to take seriously a leading corporation lawyer as a candidate. Willkie was hooted at in any section of the country where labor was strongly represented, as in the Chicago Stockyards; and each public appearance was the signal for a barrage of overripe tomatoes, vegetables, elderly eggs, and the like—an unprecedented novelty in American presidential campaigns. At his every appearance among the more conservative citizens, the candidate was rapturously applauded.

The Democratic convention, in Chicago, nominated Roosevelt on the first ballot. But there was a noticeable lack of enthusiasm for this flouting of the century-old precedent against a third term; after all, the strongest Democratic support came from the conservative Solid South. Jim Farley, Postmaster General and National Chairman of the party for eight years, a determined opponent of the third term, resigned from his party post at once. Roosevelt handpicked his own candidate for Vice-President as part of his price for yielding to the "draft" of himself as a candidate, selecting his aggressive Secretary of Agriculture, Henry A. Wallace of Iowa, an unimpressive vote-getter but an advanced liberal with youth and vigor.

The weekly Gallup polls of American opinion showed Willkie spurting ahead for a lead at the start; but thereafter he fell behind, although toward the end he did cut down Roosevelt's lead. However, these polls and the fluctuations in national sentiment were not barometers for the third term issue or the personalities of the candidates: they were barometers for what was happening in Europe. The preceding October, the U. S. S. R. acquired military, naval and air bases in the little Baltic republics, Esthonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, and all three of them were admitted into the U. S. S. R. as soviet republics in 1940. Russia now sought to protect Leningrad from attack by asking Finland to cede enough land to guard the Russian city—Russia offering Finland twice as much territory in return. Finland, after Chamberlain, Daladier and Mussolini intervened in the discussions, refused this proposal, and on November 30, 1939, the Red Army marched into the little land. On March 12, 1940, Finland surrendered. Russia retained only the area she claimed that she needed for the protection of Leningrad and the route to Murmansk, returning the conquered rest of the country to Finland.

In April, just about the time Willkie was emerging as a distinct Republican presidential possibility, Germany overran Norway, guided by fifth column activity led by the notorious Vidkun Quisling and by troops ferried by air. Belated Allied relief forces arrived, and had to evacuate before the sledge-hammer German blows. English indignation at the weak-kneed prosecution of the war caused the resignation of Chamberlain as prime minister on May 9. He was succeeded by Winston Churchill, outspoken critic of appeasement, who brought into his Cabinet the Labor Party leaders, Clement Attlee, Ernest Bevin and Herbert Morrison.

On April 9, Denmark was also invaded by Germany, on the pretense that this was being done to protect the Danes from Allied attacks. Denmark surrendered without resistance. In May and June—the latter the month of the Republican national convention—Germany overran the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxemburg and France in a series of massive blows. Paratroopers and assault units in air transports were the spearheads of these attacks, followed by men in inflated rubber boats, and by heavy flame-throwing tanks and low-diving Stukas. 335,000 British troops, surrounded at Dunkerque, managed to make their way across the Channel in safety, with a loss of only 30,000. The supposedly impregnable Maginot line was bypassed then captured from the rear. Paris was declared an "open city" and captured. On June 10, Italy entered the war against France. On the 22nd, France surrendered.

Three days before, General Charles de Gaulle began organizing the Free France movement in London. The Germans had announced that they would be in London before September 15. As the terrible German air bombing raids against London commenced on September 15, the R. A. F. began bombing the industrial and war munitions headquarters of Germany—this at the very height of the presidential campaign in the United States. On September 27, Japan

joined the Pact of Berlin, forming the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis. On October 28, the very week of the election, Italy invaded Greece from Albania. The disastrous backfire of this abortive blitz occurred only after the votes had been counted and the winner declared.

To Americans, it was clearly not common sense to turn the government over to an untried hand in such a world emergency. To have a lame duck President until mid-January, and thereafter months of fumbling delay as the Wilkie-Republican machine got geared for action, would have weakened every American position at this world-critical time. In view of his oscillating party affiliations, his capitalistic alignment, and the threat to American security abroad, the splendid race run by Wendell Willkie is surprising. He had lined up behind him three-fourths of the newspapers of the country, even the influential *New York Times*, although a few supporting papers deserted him toward the end when the complete crash of anti-Nazi Europe seemed at hand. But Landon had had most of this support and it had not been able to carry three States for him. Willkie was an aggressive if erratic campaigner; although his blunders here—as when he charged directly that Roosevelt had telephoned Hitler and Mussolini personally just before the Munich Pact to “sell Czechoslovakia down the river,” a statement promptly denied by Willkie’s own secretary—made the country regard him as, to speak charitably, overly enthusiastic.

Clearly we were in the era of self-salesmen as presidents and near-presidents. Hoover had won, in 1928, after an assiduous eight years of self-salesmanship. Willkie had had to sell himself first to the country as a candidate, and almost sold himself as president. In a non-war year, there is small doubt but that he would have been elected. Even in a war year, for all that he underwrote all the Roosevelt policies in his campaigning, isolationist America voted for him—for

anyone who was not Roosevelt. There was almost enough isolationist America in 1940 to swing the country.

Roosevelt carried 38 States, with an electoral vote of 449; Willkie secured 82 electoral votes: Maine and Vermont, though by lesser pluralities than Landon had received; his own native Indiana; Michigan, Kansas, Iowa, and Colorado; and the three northern Dust Bowl States. His chief strength came from the toughly isolationist Middle West, from those inland Americans who believed in letting Europe exterminate itself while American business continued as usual. In popular votes, Roosevelt received 27,241,939; Willkie, 22,327,226. The popular plurality, 4,914,713 was the smallest since the close Wilson-Hughes fight in 1916. Norman Thomas, Socialist, was credited with 116,796 votes; Earl Browder, the Communist standard-bearer, who was on parole for a passport fraud, with 48,789; Babson, running as a Prohibitionist, netted 58,600; while Aiken, Socialist Labor, hit the low of 14,861.

It is surprising how uniformly, in American history, great emergencies have produced strong presidents: as if the increased tempo of the social maelstrom swirled up the ablest among us. The Revolution and the critical years of the birth of the nation produced George Washington. The resurgence of democracy against financial monopoly produced Andy Jackson. The dreadful internecine strife of the Civil War produced Abraham Lincoln. The world-furnace of the first World War of this century gave us Woodrow Wilson. The vaster holocaust of World War II produced from among us Franklin Roosevelt, precedent-breaker and crusader for world-wide democracy. For all his failure in dealing with the problem of poverty, that he had pledged himself to eradicate, his name is securely written, to stand beside the four names listed, as one of the enduringly great sons of men.

CHAPTER XL

THE WAR BECOMES GLOBAL

IN TIME OF "PEACE" WE PREPARE FOR WAR

DURING 1940, the United States devoted its major activities to something entirely without precedent in American history: precipitate emergency preparations for a war in which we were not yet participants. In 1916-17, the passionate pleas of pro-Ally advocates of Preparedness were not enough to disturb our century and a half of provincial complacency. We didn't have to prepare: couldn't one Yankee lick a score of foreigners with one hand tied behind him? The events of 1917-18 did nothing to puncture this arrogance. In spite of our tardiness and fumbling, the Yanks did arrive finally—"Lafayette, we are here!"—won a battle or two, and the German power crumbled completely, leading to our boast that we had won the war. There was nothing in all this to shake our belief that modern wars could be won by unprepared amateurs, always providing that *we* were the amateurs.

By January, 1940, this whole attitude had altered. Americans did not forget to what extent we had financed the first World War. If we were to be again the goose that laid the golden egg, at least it would be safer to be a prepared goose. American industries were so entangled in cartel systems with the industrialists in England, Germany and the rest of the world that they were keenly aware that only preparedness could protect the profit-production-line which circled the earth. As a result, we faced the world conflict with something

akin to what had been the European attitude for centuries. Wilson, Harding and Hoover had been sloganeers; Roosevelt was a more brilliant phrase-maker, and was developing into one of the shrewdest manipulators of national public opinion that the United States ever knew. He fully represented American public opinion in his knowledge that we were wound into the core of the international tension of Europe and the world, in spite of the huge lump of lethargic isolationism of certain unroused sections of the country.

Moreover, the United States had a national integrity as absent from the appeasing European democracies as from the grabbing dictators. While the English and French governments would barter any land's freedom for their own advantage, we patted the expanse of ocean on each side of us complacently, and dreamed of an isolated hemisphere around us, with only profit-toll connections with the rest of the world. Just as American labor so far had kept merely inching along on the economic field, refusing to participate in government, so our industry was content to let other nations bother with the problems of ruling the lands, so long as whoever ruled permitted a steady flow of profits to American industry. In addition, our people as a whole had a vibrant if submerged belief in international honor and justice, democracy, civil rights, the right of self-determination for all peoples, and increasingly the vision that modern warfare is mass insanity, leading toward national and race suicide; and that there must be ample advance preparation against the growing threat of its arrival.

As a people, we were shocked to the core by the continent-wide Nazi pogroms against the helpless Jews, as by the permitted ravishment and dismemberment of Ethiopia, China, Loyalist Spain, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Albania, and Poland. No voice of American authority told us that this was God's will and democracy's way, as Hitler, Mussolini, and Tojo told their peoples. What we saw happen in China,

Ethiopia, Spain, and most of all in Poland, taught us what a mechanized military lightning-war meant today. There was only one answer: preparedness. We gave that answer, as a nation.

And never as a neutral power. From the start, Roosevelt made it clear that our cause was that of the democracies, in spite of their record of appeasing betrayal of treaties, decency and the rights and very existence of small nations.

The most unprecedented preparedness drive in our history got under way January 3, 1940, when the President recommended to Congress a huge increase in the defense program, with a budget of \$8,424,000,000—almost half of the total cost to us of the first World War. On March 2, even after the Russians had captured the key Finnish city of Viipuri, we lent \$20,000,000 to prostrate Finland—the only one of the first World War Allies that had met in full its war debt payments to us. In May, June, July and thereafter, huge additions to the immense preparedness program were asked for and granted. In May, the President asked Congress for 50,000 war planes—at a time when we had only around 2,500. In May, a National Defense Advisory Commission of seven members was appointed, to co-ordinate industry, finance, labor and the consumer. On December 20, this was supplemented by a four-man super defense board, headed by the industrial executive William S. Knudsen. Industry was called on to streamline our war effort—and succeeded admirably.

On June 20, Roosevelt made the startling innovation of placing two leading Republicans in his Cabinet, giving it the face of a coalition or General Front: Henry L. Stimson in the key position of Secretary of War, and Frank Knox in the equally important post of Secretary of the Navy. On August 23, Congress gave the President power to call out the National Guard and all organized reserves. On September 23, Roosevelt accepted from Great Britain the "gift" of air and naval bases on Newfoundland and Bermuda and

exchanged 50 over-age American destroyers for similar 99-year leases on naval and air bases in the Bahamas, Jamaica, St. Lucia, Antigua, Trinidad and British Guiana. In the same month, peacetime conscription was enacted, persuasively called Selective Service in the Burke-Wadsworth Act.

At the end of September, our protest against Japan's effort to close the Burma Road across the Himalayan Hump and choke off China's American and East Indian supplies won its point. To emphasize our partisanship more sharply, at this time we prohibited the further exporting to Japan of scrap iron and steel, so vital to her further military conquests.

In October, 16,400,000 men registered for the draft. On the 29th, the draft lottery was held, and by the next month training had begun. On December 17, the President announced that he would "lend" armament to Great Britain, since by law we could not lend money to defaulting debtor nations. The complete un-neutrality of this is obvious; we did not offer to "lend" or sell armament to Germany, Italy or Japan, as a neutral munitions supply house would have done.

As 1940 slid bloodily into a redder 1941, with London smoldering and much of Berlin a shambles, Roosevelt, in one of his persuasive radio Fireside Chats over a nationwide hookup, described our role as "dynamic non-belligerence"; announced flatly that the Axis would *not* win; and called us "the arsenal of democracy," to almost universal acclaim. The arsenal is as vital to modern warfare as the men who use its products in actual fighting.

This was a year of "methods short of war, but stronger and more effective than mere words."

HITLER'S MAIN STRATEGIC BLUNDERS

On the last day of 1940, Hitler prophesied that Germany would win the war in 1941. In March of 1941, Bulgaria joined the Axis as German troops marched in and occupied

the capital, the principal port, and the airfields. British forces defeated Italian troops in Libya, Eritrea, and Somaliland, and freed Ethiopia from Italian control. Greece, after hurling back the impotent Italian attack, was crushed by German mechanized troops. As usual, there was ruthless Nazi bombing of civilians. Yugoslavia was overrun by the Nazis, and the capital, Belgrade—in spite of being declared an “open city”—was wrecked by three days of aerial and artillery bombardment. The British navy rescued 45,000 of the 57,000 Anzac (Australian-New Zealand) troops which Britain used in the hopeless effort to aid Greece, and ferried them to Crete. On May 20, the Germans floated down on Crete in parachutes and on gliders, and within ten days Crete was lost, with less than 15,000 British and Anzac troops rescued. The attack on Crete was construed as a Nazi rehearsal of how England would be invaded.

Behind the screen of these successes, Hitler's major strategic blunders followed one another with bewildering rapidity. The first was the failure to invade England after Dunkerque, an effort that would probably have succeeded. In spite of the support given Hitler by Franco in Spain, no determined Nazi effort was made to capture Gibraltar, the western gateway to the Mediterranean. Rommel, the “desert fox,” supplanted the incompetent Italian leadership in Libya, and aimed at the Suez Canal. But Nazi ineptitude at home, in failing to implement him with enough men and tanks, made his threat ineffectual—although he once reached El Alamein, the final Egyptian barrier before Alexandria.

And now came Hitler's fourth major strategic blunder. As a curtain-raiser to it, on May 10, 1941, Rudolph Hess, ranked as Nazi No. 3 and as Hitler's heir-apparent, flew to Scotland, as the bearer of an undisclosed message to Britain. The general presumption is that the message offered peace and an alliance to England, to free Germany to turn and

crush Russia. Britain promptly interned Hess for the duration of the war. Hess later claimed that his trip was taken without Hitler's knowledge, to offer peace to England, and thus free Germany to lash at Russia.

Meanwhile, during the same week, Vichy France, the Nazi puppet government, surrendered to Japan economic control of French Indo-China. Japan promptly occupied the land, putting the fanatical island empire in easy striking distance of Malaya, including Singapore, the supposedly impregnable gateway of European traffic to the Far East, as well as of Thailand, Burma, the Dutch East Indies, and the Philippines. At the same time, Vichy surrendered Syria to the Nazis, and German infiltration commenced there. This led Roosevelt to declare, on May 27:

We do not accept and will not permit the Nazi shape of things to come. . . . We shall give every possible assistance to Britain and to all who, with Britain, are resisting Hitlerism or its equivalent with force of arms. This was about as neutral as the baying of a pursuing bloodhound. In May the policy of the U. S. S. R. was apparently to collaborate with Germany as far as possible without engaging in hostilities or committing itself too far. However, at dawn, June 22, 1941, Germany invaded the Soviet Union, on an 1,800 mile front stretching from Arctic Finland to Romania. Pagan Hitler invited his co-conspirators to a "crusade" to save "Christianity" from the "Red Menace." Finland, Hungary and Romania entered the war against Russia within the week.

Hitler had encountered an implacable and united enemy,—a proletarian dictatorship of 190,000,000 people, who had been preparing since 1917 for such an attack. On July 5, Joseph Stalin announced:

The enemy . . . cruel . . . implacable . . . is out to seize our lands . . . to restore the rule of landlords, to restore tsarism, to destroy national culture . . . The issue is

whether the people of the Soviet Union shall remain free or fall into slavery.

He called for an effective "scorched earth" policy and unending guerilla warfare, in this, which was not a revolutionary war, nor a war for territorial aggrandisement, but a "national war in defense of our country."

On July 3, when Minsk was captured, the Nazis announced that Soviet armed resistance was broken. The announcement was premature. Many vital Russian industries had long before been moved a thousand miles inland; and the Germans encountered only burned villages and fields, as they goose-stepped forward. Vital Rostov was captured. Lenin-grad was besieged futilely for months, and so was Moscow; but neither surrendered, due to the fanatical bravery of the defending troops. On October 3, Hitler declared, "Russia is already broken, and will never rise again." With this, his average for accuracy sagged still lower.

In November, Stalin admitted the loss of 1,748,000 Russians, while announcing that the German casualties exceeded 4,500,000. In the next few months Russia, by magnificent fighting, recaptured almost a third of the territory she had lost, including Rostov.

Hitler had hoped for British assistance, or, at worst, for no British aid to Russia. On the day Russia was invaded, Churchill declared:

Any man or state who fights against Nazism will have our aid. . . . The Russian danger is our danger and the danger of the United States, just as the cause of any Russian fighting for his hearth and home is the cause of free men and free people in every quarter of the globe.

Churchill's speaking for the United States was corroborated by Roosevelt at once. By August, Great Britain, the Polish and Czech governments, and the United States exchanged notes acknowledging that Nazism was their common enemy.

The United States promised all possible aid to the Soviet power. Great Britain, at Russia's insistence, began work on the necessary idea of opening a second front in Europe against the Nazi menace.

In April, 1941, at Danish insistence, we had taken over the protection of Greenland, landing American troops there for that purpose. On July 7, 1941, American troops took over Iceland, on our agreement to withdraw at the end of the war. On August 12, Roosevelt and Churchill met secretly at sea on board the *Prince of Wales* off the Newfoundland coast; and two days later announced the Atlantic Charter, which pledged chiefly:

1. No territorial aggrandizement.
2. No territorial changes that were not in accord with the wishes of the peoples concerned.
3. The right of all people to choose their own form of government.
4. Free and equal access to the raw materials and trade of the world by all nations.
5. Disarmament after the war.

The thoughtful mind must conclude that Churchill agreed to several of these provisions, perhaps to all of them, with his tongue in his cheek. Stalin promptly signified his acceptance of this forward-looking Atlantic Charter; and the involved countries, by lend-lease and otherwise, took steps to furnish additional aid to battling Russia.

THE ATTACK ON PEARL HARBOR

Increasingly the United States stripped for action, with William S. Knudsen and former labor leader Sidney Hillman at the head of the OPM (Office of Production Management.) Hillman also was in charge of the Division of Labor; Leon Henderson, of Civilian Supply and Price Administration; and Donald S. Nelson, of Priorities.

On February 19, 1941, the House appropriated a quarter

of a billion dollars for belated fortifications at Pearl Harbor, our Pacific islands, and the new West Indian bases. The defense program in the eighteen months ending October 31 totalled 64 billion dollars: four times the cost of our entire participation in the first World War; more than the cost of that war to the Central Powers, or to England and France combined; more than \$492 individually to every man, woman and child in the United States. Preparedness was no longer on the bargain counter.

In March, the Lend-Lease Bill was enacted into law, providing immediate aid to Great Britain, the democracies and the U. S. S. R., with seven billion dollars available for this purpose at once. The President broadcast a promise of aid "till total victory has been won." A warplane factory strike at Los Angeles was ended by army management. The enlisted term of selectees, guardsmen and reservists was lengthened from 1 to 2½ years. In mid-October, the U. S. destroyer *Kearny* was destroyed by German submarine attack southwest of Iceland. The last day of the month, the *Reuben James* was similarly sunk, west of Iceland. Belatedly Congress voted to allow merchant ships of the United States to arm against attack.

On November 17, 1941, two Japanese envoys arrived in Washington, for a conference on affairs in the Far East. On November 20, Japan moderated her position on the chief points at issue. Yet she retained the right to dispatch armed forces into French Indo-China, given her by the puppet Vichy government in France; and to bring "peace" to China in her own way, unhindered by the United States. She demanded that our "neutral" government furnish the oil Japan required.

On November 26, Secretary of State Cordell Hull replied to this. He ignored the stipulation concerning oil. He demanded that Japan withdraw all armed forces from China

and Indo-China; recognize the autonomy of the latter; surrender all extraterritorial rights in China; and support no Chinese government except the existing government of Chiang Kai-Shek at Chungking, with whom Japan had long been at war. This was "dynamic non-belligerence" with a vengeance.

On the last day of November, Japan called these proposals fantastic; adding that Japan must go on with the establishment of a "new order" in eastern Asia.

At 7:55 A. M. Sunday, December 7, 1941, Honolulu time, a Japanese surprise attack by dive bombers was launched against Pearl Harbor, the great United States naval base in Hawaii. The International Date Line runs between Hawaii and Japan; and Honolulu is $5\frac{1}{2}$ hours earlier than Eastern Standard time, and $10\frac{1}{2}$ hours earlier than Tokyo time of the next day. Thus the attack took place at 1:35 P. M. Sunday, by Washington, D. C., time; and at 3:25 A. M. Monday, by Tokyo time. Two hours and 35 minutes later, 6 A. M. Tokyo time, war was declared by Japan against the United States, Great Britain, Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and the Union of South Africa—this declaration being announced as of dawn on Monday. After a Japanese Cabinet meeting, the Japanese rejection of the United States demands was handed to the American Ambassador in Japan. At 2:05 P. M. Sunday, in Washington, forty minutes after the actual attack had taken place, the Japanese Ambassador called to deliver a copy of this rejection to Secretary Hull, who said, in rejecting it, that it was full of infamous falsehoods and distortions.

When the first phase of the attack subsided at 8:25 A. M., half an hour after it had first struck Pearl Harbor, 80 naval planes had been destroyed, 70 damaged, and only a few of the remaining 52 could take off through the wreckage. Ninety-three army planes out of 273 were destroyed at Hickham and Wheeler Fields, including 23 bombers and 66

fighters; and as many more were damaged. Every battleship and all but a tiny few of the 86 naval craft in Pearl Harbor had been hit. The battleships *Arizona* and *California* had been sunk, as had been the *Utah*, a battleship which had been previously converted into a target ship. The *Nevada* had been fired and beached. 2,897 men had been killed; 1,842 wounded, 960 more were missing. It had taken the Japanese planes precisely three minutes of actual bombing to do all this.

At 8:40 A. M., a quarter of an hour later, high-flying Japanese bombers crossed and recrossed their targets at will, causing further damage. Dive-bombers returned, to harass the wounded and the repair and rescue crews. At 9:45 A. M. all enemy craft departed. The Midway Island group, the Wake Island group, Guam, the Philippines—quite as unalerted as Pearl Harbor—Singapore, Hong Kong, Shanghai, and Thailand (Siam) were all attacked by the Japanese on the same day. These attacks left the United States completely paralyzed, as an army, naval, and air force, in the whole Pacific. On December 8, the United States declared war on Japan. Great Britain carried out Churchill's pledge, and also declared war on Japan.

On the 10th of December, Japanese planes sank two prides of the British navy, the battleship *Prince of Wales* and the cruiser *Repulse*, cruising east of the Malay peninsula without airplane protection. On the 11th, Germany and Italy declared war against the United States.

CHAPTER XLI

THE MUSHROOM JAPANESE EMPIRE

THE FIRST JAPANESE BLITZ

THE Versailles Treaty had given Japan mandates over the Caroline, Mariana, Marshall and other former German archipelagoes. As Japan well knew when she claimed them as the price of her aid in the first World War, the Carolines were so strategically located that they brought Japan to within 600 miles of the Philippines; while the Marshall Islands brought her within easy striking distance of Wake, Midway and the Hawaiian Islands.

Guam, ringed by hostile Japanese islands, surrendered after a five days resistance, on December 12, 1941. At Wake Island, Marines held out until the day before Christmas. Midway Island did not surrender.

On the same day that the Japanese sank the only two Allied capital ships in eastern waters, they landed on northern Malaya, and at Luzon below Manila. They commenced an invasion of Hong Kong; seized three of the British Gilbert Islands; attacked Nauru slightly to the west, and Ocean Island. By the end of the first week of the invasion, the Japanese were flooding through the Malayan jungles, using one-man tanks to hunt down the fleeing British, Australian and Hindu soldiers. On Christmas day, the British surrendered Hong Kong. On this same day, United States General Douglas MacArthur declared Manila an "open city," to save it from destruction. The Japanese ignored this, and con-

tinued to bomb the defenseless and abandoned city. On December 31, Sarawak, British protectorate on the northwest coast of Borneo, fell to the Japanese. Within a month, they had invaded New Britain, and Papua, on southeast New Guinea facing Australia.

MacArthur, who had withdrawn from Manila to the Bataan Peninsula, was ordered to assume command of the Allied expeditionary forces being collected in Australia. He left Corregidor on a PT boat for Mindanao, and flew from there to Australia, leaving General Jonathan M. Wainwright in command. Wainwright withdrew from Bataan to the island fortress of Corregidor, and here he continued his heroic resistance in the face of overwhelming odds. It was not until May 6, 1942, that he finally surrendered. Of the 23,000 Americans who fought on Bataan, 19,000 surrendered. All but a few hundred of these perished in Japanese prison camps before V-J Day, due to systematic Japanese mistreatment. The Japanese entered Manila, bombed by now to a shambles, and rounded up hundreds of girls and women, chiefly of the better families, in the leading hotel—including numerous Americans and Europeans. These were systematically and repeatedly assaulted, and thereafter many were used in compulsory brothels for the invader troops.

The Axis strategy called for Hitler to advance from the west to India, and there meet the Japanese troops—both expecting warm support from disaffected India, the most dissatisfied of all British possessions. Hitler was stopped in Egypt by Britain, and in the Caucasus region by Russia. Japan proceeded with her harder chore, since impregnable Singapore was in the way. Britain had boasted that Singapore, the bottleneck to all trade from the West to the Far East, was as strong as Gibraltar, and could never be captured.

The Japanese first captured southern Burma and set up a puppet government which at once declared war on Britain and the United States. When Malaya was overrun to the

tip, the British, on January 31, 1942, withdrew from the mainland to the fortified island. The storming of Singapore began the night of February 7; and on the 15th, British General Percival surrendered to General Yamashita. On May 1, Mandalay in central Burma also fell to the Japanese.

As the Japanese attack on India opened, with the conquest of the Andaman Islands in the Bay of Bengal, a last minute offer of dominion status to India was made; but it was so worded that it was not acceptable to the irreconcilable Indian leaders. Meanwhile, daring American airmen under General Doolittle bombed Tokyo and three other chief Japanese centers of war industry. This was a tiny foretaste of what the future held for the war-makers.

Within three months after Pearl Harbor, the Japanese Empire included all of Burma, Thailand, French Indo-China, Malaya, the Sunda Archipelago islands of Sumatra, Java, Borneo, Celebes, the northern shore of New Guinea—and so eastward to the Gilbert Islands. The area of Japan had risen from 260,000 square miles to more than 2,000,000; the population of the mushroom empire from 105,226,107 to more than 255,000,000. The Nazi empire at its greatest extent did not exceed one million square miles, and only approximately 210,000,000 people. In area, the over-night Japanese Empire was still exceeded by the British Empire, the U. S. S. R., China, the United States, and Brazil; in population, it was only exceeded by the British Empire and China. But China was prostrate under Japanese attacks, and the British Empire, under fire from the Nazi Fortress Europe as well as the Japanese Empire, was disintegrating and desperate.

However, some queer paralysis of effort struck this huge paper empire, even from the beginning of its blitz. Japan's first strategic mistake was failing to occupy Oahu after Pearl Harbor, and from Hawaii sending a major invasion force across the Pacific to the United States mainland. A second

major mistake was not to seize or occupy the Panama Canal, the bottleneck of the lifeline from the eastern seaboard to the western coast and the Pacific Islands. The United States expected both these attacks, and was mystified when they did not develop.

When the Japanese made their first slight penetration into British India, some of its leaders welcomed the invaders. Then this assault slowed, and finally withdrew. After capturing the Portuguese island of Timor, the Japanese bombed Darwin, chief town on the northern coast of Australia. The Aussies fought back, and United States planes and troops were rushed to the aid of the ravaged little settlement. After Pearl Harbor, the United States had been left without a navy in the Pacific. It hurriedly assembled a substitute task force. On May 4-7, 1942, a small task force in the Coral Sea northeast of Australia, consisting of three cruisers, the carrier *Yorktown*, and six destroyers, encountered a Japanese fleet, sinking 11 and damaging 12 of them. Three American ships were sunk, and one damaged. On May 8, Admiral Fletcher's augmented fleet met the rest of the Japanese invasion and fighting fleet in the same area and conquered them. Thirty-five Japanese ships were sunk or damaged, to only three American ships. In this battle, the surface ships had not fired one shot; the fighting was done entirely by planes. Australia was thereafter safe from invasion.

Failure to complete the invasion and conquest of India was Japan's third strategic blunder. Inability to overrun Australia was her fourth strategic failure.

To make American superiority surer, on June 3, 1942, the American task fleet clashed with a Japanese invasion fleet 700 miles southwest of tiny Midway Island. The battle, undersea, surface, and in the air, lasted three days and three nights. The Japanese were forced to withdraw, with a loss of 4,800 men, four carriers, many planes, two heavy

crusiers, three destroyers, and many transports. Only 300 American officers and men were lost, and only two ships, the destroyer *Hammann* and the aircraft carrier *Yorktown*.

RUSSIA THROWS BACK THE NAZIS

The first Nazi blitzkrieg against Russia had overrun the land to Leningrad and Moscow, which refused to surrender, and to Rostov, which was captured November 22, 1941. In the winter, the Russians counter-attacked, driving the invading Nazis a safe distance from Moscow, and recapturing Rostov. In the summer and autumn of 1942, the Nazi panzer divisions stormed eastward once more, again menacing Moscow, capturing Kursk, the outskirts of Voronezh and Rostov, and entering Stalingrad on September 16; while a southward blitz invaded the Caucasus region as far as Ordzhonikidze, less than 300 miles from the chief objective, the rich oil fields of Baku in Azerbaijan on the Caspian. As the winter of 1942-43 approached, a tremendous Red counteroffensive drove the wearied German line westward again, regaining the land lost during the preceding summer.

All this was completely out of drawing from Hitler's point of view. He had to hold the Ukraine, the granary of Russia, to ease German food scarcity. He had to hold Rostov, the gate to the Caucasus and the rich Baku oil fields. He had to control the important industrial center of Stalingrad. When the Nazis actually entered this heroic city, Hitler orated jubilantly:

The occupation of Stalingrad, which will be concluded, will become a gigantic success. . . . No human being shall ever push us away from this spot.

The Russians were superhuman, then. The Nazis encircled the city, and were ripping it to pieces by artillery, tanks, and dive-bombing. The Russians turned every block, every building, into a fort. On November 19, a Russian relief force crashed unexpectedly against the encircling Nazis. Within

two months, 318,000 of the invaders had been exterminated, and the final 12,000 surrendered on January 26, 1943.

Meanwhile, the Russians were clamoring for a western front against the Nazis, to give some relief to the desperately struggling Red Army. This was delayed until November, 1942. The British Commandos, organized by Sir Roger Keyes and under the command of Lord Louis Mountbatten, began raiding the French coast in the summer of 1942—their most daring and costly raid being directed against strongly defended Dieppe in Nazi-occupied France. Five thousand Canadians, augmented by British Commandos, American Rangers and Fighting French, escorted by British destroyers, and under an air umbrella of Allied planes, landed, fought their way into the town, and withdrew on schedule, though with a loss of half the force.

In mid-April of 1943, Assistant Attorney-General Arnold revealed that certain large American corporations had, by cartels with German industries, restricted the use of vital war materials in this country. He blamed these cartels as "the very center of our failure to produce basic materials," which caused a scarcity in every home, as well as for military purposes. Meanwhile, the F. B. I. (Federal Bureau of Investigations) secured the conviction of several score espionage agents of the Axis, for interfering with our war effort.

As the war neared the end of its third year, four-fifths of the world's population was involved, with the daily lives of 1,700,000,000 persons conditioned to participation in the deadly fighting.

OUR HOME FRONT

The conversion of the United States from a mere arsenal for democracy, at peace, to a nation of 135,000,000 at war, was accomplished with an ease and facility that Hitler had repeatedly declared the democracies incapable of achieving. In January, 1942, Roosevelt called for the production, dur-

ing 1942, of 60,000 planes, 45,000 tanks, and 8,000,000 tons of ships—and more than twice these numbers the ensuing year. Labor announced that it would surrender its right to strike for the duration of the war. Joint labor-management boards began to function in most plants.

By September, 1943, the total production to date included 123,000 airplanes; 349,000 airplane engines; 53,000 tanks; 15,000 large guns; 9,500,000 rifles, carbines and machine guns; 2,380 ships; 15,000 landing ships; and other goods in proportion. Donald Nelson, head of the War Production Board, announced that we would soon be turning out one completed plane every five minutes, day and night, throughout the year. By 1944, American production would double that of the Axis. Two-thirds of the population were engaged in some sort of war activity.

American planes slowly became improvements on any in the world—the long-range heavy bomber, the B-29, being outstanding. American jet planes, it was claimed, soon could outfly the Germans. The American Sherman tanks—land battleships—were ideal for their purposes; while the M-26 (Pershing) tank, weighing 43 tons, and models T-29 and T-30, weighing 64 tons each, mounted larger rifles than any tanks in combat. Development in guided missiles, recoilless artillery, rockets, radar, and night viewing devices soon led the world. The American Army was better paid, better clothed, and better fed than any army in the world. German superiority in heavy artillery and smokeless powder were slowly met and passed. American bombs, with improved fusing and control devices, excelled any on earth. We were the inventors of most of the amphibious assault and landing craft.

The amount of war material that we furnished to Britain and the other Allies was almost inconceivable. To Britain alone, in the final two years of the war, we sent 1,031 pieces of heavy artillery; 12,341 tanks; 76,737 jeeps; and 98,207

trucks. During the same period, we sent to the Soviet forces 252 heavy guns; 4,177 tanks; 28,356 jeeps; and 218,888 trucks, as well as American locomotives, rails and rolling stock. We were the arsenal of democracy, and were about to become one of its great spearheads on the field.

In the summer of 1943, the Army was built up to 7,700,000 enlisted men, and the Navy and other armed services in proportion. Russia put altogether 22,000,000 men and women into the fight; Germany, 17,000,000; the United States, at its peak mobilization, 14,000,000; the British Empire, 12,000,000; and China, 6,000,000. The total Allied mobilization was 62,000,000; that of the Axis, 30,000,000. Almost one out of every 20 people on earth was under arms, on one side or the other.

American casualties in the first World War totaled 252,129, of whom 53,000 were deaths. Casualties of World War II exceeded 943,222 in our Army alone, including 201,367 killed. For the 201,367 American soldiers who died, 1,592,600 German, Italian and Japanese troops were killed, or approximately eight Axis deaths to one American death.

Individual records in production are almost incredible. In 1937, experts had said that the production of 50 ships a year was "impossible." In December, 1943—one month—American shipyards turned out 208 ships. During 1943, merchant ships came off the assembly lines at the rate of six a day. The Navy, up to June, 1943, had built 23,000 planes, and increased its fleet from 1,076 vessels to 14,072. Our armed forces received training, especially in vast camps in the Southern States, which made them some of the finest fighters on earth. Women were enlisted in all the services, as Wacs, Waves, and Spars. This astounding record of war-time production, by the united effort of American industry

and labor, is an augury of what could be accomplished during peace-time, if a similar united effort were made.

Meanwhile, in addition to the battle fronts and the home front, every Nazi-invaded country, and even Germany itself, had its vigorous pro-Allied underground movement working night and day for the defeat of the totalitarian oppressors.

Among Hitler's chief victims were the European Jews, whom he had sworn to exterminate. More than 6,000,000 of the 8,939,608 Jews in Europe in 1939 were ruthlessly slaughtered, after torture and worse horrors in many instances. In four years Poland, whose nationals were hunted almost as mercilessly as the Jews, lost more than 5,000,000 by murder, torture, disease, deportation and starvation. The Polish crematoriums, torture camps, death ovens and lethal gas chambers shocked the world. The American Army, to a man, was on fire to avenge these hideous crimes against civilization. Their hour was about to strike.

CHAPTER XLII

THE SECOND FRONT IN EUROPE

THE INVASION OF AFRICA

THE logical way to open a Second Front in Europe would have been to cross the English Channel and land along the French, Belgian, Dutch or Danish coasts, and drive directly at Berlin. This would have been the swiftest way to lighten the threat against the Suez Canal, since Germany could not have risked pursuing an attack in the Near East while being pounded between Russia on the east and Allied forces on the west.

But Churchill realized how fully Great Britain had lost face in Europe, especially at Dunkerque and in Norway; in the Near East, especially in Greece and Crete; and in the Far East, by the loss of Singapore. He wished this to be restored before Great Britain faced the after-the-war tensions over such coveted areas as rich Iran, Iraq and the Balkan States. A main British problem after the war would be to prevent Russian dominance in the Balkans; the Russian acquisition of Istanbul (Constantinople); or of any direct outlet to the Mediterranean. To strengthen British diplomacy, an Allied invasion through Greece and the Balkans would certainly suit British purposes best. Churchill feared that a genuine western front might permit Russia to survive the war as the strongest power in Europe. In view of this, he urged a second front as remote from the west as possible. As a final compromise plan, instead of proceeding across

the English Channel and directly from the west, the Allied High Commands decided to attack the Nazi Fortress Europe through what Churchill called the "soft underbelly of Europe," Italy—a route calling for the conquest of northern Africa first.

This soft underbelly proved so hard that it took 17 months to reach surrendered Rome by way of it, and 30 months to reach Germany; while the final road from Normandy to Berlin required only 11 months. But there was one element of farsighted shrewdness in the plan which must have commended it to Roosevelt and may largely have influenced his final decision. To invade Germany by way of North Africa and then Italy meant the possibility of splitting off from the Nazi Empire first the surrendered French colonies in northern Africa and, second, the weak sister in the Nazi trinity, Mussolini's Italy.

Early on the morning of November 8, 1942, the radios of the world carried the thrilling news that the Allied invasion of North Africa, under the American General Dwight Eisenhower, was under way. More than 500 transports, containing auxiliary landing craft and several hundred thousand men, amply guarded by 350 Allied warships and thousands of planes, landed at 1 A. M. at beaches and other points along the coasts of Morocco and Algiers. This enormous amphibious operation, over several sea-lanes each more than 3,000 miles long without secondary bases, was so far the greatest combined operation in all military history. It was accomplished without the loss of a single ship, and with a precise timing and complete secrecy that astounded the world.

Marshal Pétain, the French collaborationist Chief of State, at once called on the Vichy French troops in North Africa to eject the Allies, but the city of Algiers surrendered the day after the invasion. At Casablanca the French fort was silenced and a small French fleet destroyed. Oran, the third primary objective, was captured the next day. In retaliation

the Nazis occupied Bizerte and Tunis, and poured in reinforcements from Sicily. In January, Roosevelt met the delighted Churchill at Casablanca—for all of Churchill's plans were moving along nicely; and the two together announced "unconditional surrender" as their objective.

After six months of bitter fighting, in which the Americans were supported by New Zealand, Greek, East Indian, Fighting French and the British 8th Army, what was left of the Axis forces surrendered in Africa.

INVASION OF SICILY AND ITALY

In November, Churchill and Roosevelt met again at Malta. Then they had a session with Chiang Kai-shek at Cairo. Finally Stalin joined the two great leaders at Tehran, capital of Iran. The leaders pledged themselves to the swiftest possible ending of the war, and reaffirmed Roosevelt's Four Freedoms—freedom of speech; freedom of religion; freedom from want, or poverty; and freedom from fear, as of war.

On the night of July 9–10, 1943, Sicily was invaded by troops borne on gliders and paratroopers in transport planes, followed by an army on 2,500 transport ships. The American troops were led by volcanic General George S. Patton, Jr., whom Eisenhower recognized as the greatest genius in tank-fighting in the United States Army.

The result of sweeping Allied victories was at once apparent. On July 25, King Victor Emmanuel announced the resignation of Benito Mussolini, the discredited fascist dictator who had ruled Italy for twenty-one years. He was replaced by 73 year old Marshal Pietro Badoglio, who declared that the war would continue. The Germans abandoned the Italians in Sicily as they had in Libya and Tunisia, and on August 18, all of Sicily was in Allied hands. Just as in much of North Africa, in Sicily the Allies were greeted with frantic cheers by the freed Sicilians. Meanwhile, American

bombers twice bombed the "eternal city," Rome itself, so skillfully that only munitions plants and railroad yards were struck, and the numerous cathedrals and churches were all spared. A few hours after the second bombing Rome was declared an "open city" to save it from further war damage.

On September 3, a secret armistice between Italy and the Allies was signed, to be revealed and made effective five days later. The Italian fleet put to sea to surrender at Malta. The battleship *Roma* was sunk by Nazi air attack but the others reached the port and were promptly surrendered. In the early hours of the 3rd, Italy was invaded via the Strait of Messina, the landing taking place on the Calabrian coast. On the 9th, American and British forces landed at Salerno near Naples. On the 12th, Mussolini was kidnapped by Nazi paratroopers, and 11 days later was named President of a Nazi puppet-state, "Fascist Italy." At Salerno the Germans had fully fortified this part of the "soft underbelly of Europe." The major German defense against the Allied drive took place in the ancient monastery of Monte Cassino, which had been turned into one huge bristling fort by the Germans. It was not until May 18, 1944, that it was taken by assault—eight months after the landing in Calabria, and 18 months after the landing in North Africa. The route from Normandy to Berlin, commenced two weeks later, lasted altogether only 11 months.

V-WEAPONS AND D-DAY: FRANCE INVADED

The bombing, especially by the United States air force, increased in ferocity against Berlin and all the Nazi war materiel industrial centers, until Germany had been "softened" irremediably. On July 1, 1943, the American air fleet for use against Germany consisted of 1,000 heavy bombers and 1,000 other planes. By July 6, 1944, this force had been increased to 3,000 heavy bombers and 6,500 first line planes of other types.

In February, 1944 the Luftwaffe—the German air force—fought for a week to sweep American day bombers out of the sky. The effort failed, and ultimately the Luftwaffe was practically driven out of action. From the first American heavy bomber attack, August 17, 1942 to V-E Day, our airmen dropped more than 1,550,000 tons of bombs on western Europe, primarily against aircraft factories, airdromes and communications. This ultimately kept the Luftwaffe grounded. Bombing of synthetic fuel plants and crude oil refineries destroyed 95 percent of their productivity. Shuttle bombing, from Italy to Russia and back, and from England to Russia and back, increased the striking power of the American air forces.

Meanwhile, on June 15, Germany released the first two of her “secret weapons” against England, the “robot bombs” V-1 and V-2. These demolished English homes, hospitals, schools, churches, and indeed any obstacle they accidentally hit.

On June 6, 1944, the Americans, supported by British 2nd Army, including Canadian troops, invaded Normandy. This was the long-awaited D-Day, establishing an actual western front to relieve the pressure on resurgent Russian might. With Eisenhower again as Commander-in-Chief, his British assistant, Field Marshal Montgomery, was in charge of all the Allied ground forces; Lieut. Gen. Sir Miles C. Dempsey commanded the Canadians and British; and Lieut. Gen. Omar N. Bradley commanded the American invaders. At 0630 (6:30 A. M.) the first wave of assault infantry and tanks landed on the invasion beaches, along 50 miles of coast line.

There was no effective German air resistance, but the Nazi ground forces fought stubbornly. On June 27, Cherbourg fell to the Americans, and 30,000 troops and 30,000 tons of supplies were being landed every day for the intended breakout toward Germany. On July 25, Lieutenant

General Patton's 3rd Army and Lieutenant General Courtney H. Hodges' 1st Army broke through near St. Lô, after a softening aerial bombardment. The 3rd Army, heavily mechanized under the brilliant tank fighter, General Patton, swept around the southern flank of the German's position in Normandy, and in the pocket caused by Patton's army and the Canadians, 100,000 Germans were surrounded and surrendered. Western Normandy was lost to the Germans, who began withdrawing beyond the Seine.

On August 15, Lieutenant General Alexander M. Patch landed his 7th Army on the southern coast of France, southwest of Cannes, and began driving toward Berlin up the Rhone valley. On August 25, the 1st U. S. Army entered Paris, the Allied troops having bypassed the important ports of Nazaire, Lorient, Dieppe and Le Havre. By September 5, 2,086,000 Allied troops and 3,446,000 tons of stores had been landed in France. While the U. S. 9th Army, under Lieutenant General William H. Simpson, reduced the French ports, the remaining Germans fled across France toward the supposedly unbreachable Siegfried Line on the German border. On September 11, the 1st Army crossed Luxemburg, and entered Germany.

General Eisenhower called for major United States production in the emergency, stating that 6,000,000 artillery and 2,000,000 mortar shells monthly would be required to reduce the Siegfried Line. Strongly defended Aachen (Aix-le-Chapelle), the historic city which had been Charlemagne's capital, was bombed destructively, and cleared of Germans by October 21. With 3,000,000 effective Allied troops under him, Eisenhower in mid-November prepared to penetrate the Siegfried Line, and be in position to cross the Rhine.

THE BATTLE OF THE BULGE

The American line, on such a vast front, had to be drawn very thin. Only four divisions of the 1st Army stretched

along the 75 miles between Monschau Forest and Trier. On December 16, Field Marshal von Runstedt made the last aggressive blow of the Wehrmacht, the German Army. With 24 divisions, he attacked this thin spot in the American line, having utilized days of heavy fog to prepare secretly in the deeply forested terrain for this blitz blow. Eight Nazi panzer divisions broke through in the celebrated Battle of the Bulge in the Ardennes Forest. Von Runstedt intended to retake Belgium, drive back into France, "rout the Allies" and be in Paris by Christmas.

For the first 24 hours, the Germans succeeded admirably. While General Bradley turned over part of his 1st and 9th Armies to Montgomery's command in the north, General Patton raced his tanks northward, with every unit he could spare from the bitterly fighting 3rd Army. General Hodges defended the immense gasoline supplies of the Allies at Spa by requisitioning military police, cooks, clerks, chemical troops, and everyone available. The Americans held the town. When an American patrol, consisting of a captain, a lieutenant, and four enlisted men, were captured on the 17th in the drive for Bastogne, the Americans were stripped of their arms, lined up, and shot in cold blood. In the Malmédy area, 200 Americans were formed in a square in a field, and shot to pieces by tank machine-guns. So the Nazis sought to bring the New Order to Europe and the world. Meanwhile, the American air force pounded the Germans so that, for instance, the German 2nd Armored Division, commencing the battle with 124 tanks, admitted defeat after three weeks—with only three tanks left.

In some places, the Germans drove 50 miles into Belgium. In the center the Germans gained most—giving the encounter its name, The Battle of the Bulge. The Germans made a final effort to regain air control, and lost 600 planes in less than a week. When Brigadier General Anthony McAuliffe, in command of fiercely attacked Bastogne, was called

on to surrender, he answered with one word: "Nuts!" When asked for a translation of the word, an American officer replied, "It means—go to hell." So it was that the Americans fought.

On the day after Christmas, the offensive went to the Americans. The 1st and 9th Armies on the north, the 3rd Army on the south, narrowed the neck of the bulge to 20 miles. The Germans began to withdraw in panic. The big American Flying Fortresses and Liberators harried the fleeing picked troops of Hitler. A blinding snowstorm on New Year's Day, 1945, made the fighting more ghastly. By January 5, the American counteroffensive was effective from both sides. Twenty of the 24 German divisions that had attacked had been shattered. After 44 days of this desperate fighting, the Americans broke back into Germany for the final drive on Berlin.

CROSSING THE RHINE

By now the Allied forces on the West Front totalled 4,000,000 men, almost 3,000,000 of them Americans. While the Russians revived their attack, Patton's 3rd Army drove irresistibly toward Coblenz. The 9th Armored Division of the 1st Army reached the Rhine at Remagen, between Cologne and Bonn, and found that at this one place the Germans had failed to destroy the bridge across the famous river. American tanks stormed the town with fury, and crossed the bridge ten minutes before it was scheduled to be blown up. Not since the time of Napoleon, almost a century and a half before, had an enemy invader crossed the Rhine.

As the Remagen bridge was giving way, the American Navy rushed its boats to the lower Rhine, and ferried the 1st and 9th Armies across the river, where they struck out for the superhighways to the Ruhr. Patton smashed into Coblenz, joined Patch, and moved against the Saar basin.

The troops of "Old Blood and Guts" crashed through Mainz, Worms, Kaiserslautern, and threw a new bridgehead across the Rhine at Mainz. British air transports and gliders crossed the river into Westphalia, while land forces raced to join them. Meanwhile, Eisenhower sent 12,000 planes in a single day to devastate the whole country.

In April, the Nazi troops in the Ruhr were encircled, which meant the surrender of the final picked Nazi troops. The Volkssturm—the improvised civilian troops, chiefly of army rejects—were impotent to delay Allied victory any longer. Heinrich Himmler, Hitler's right hand butcher, created the Werewolves, an organization of callous guerillas behind the Allied lines. This force was as impotent as the Wehrmacht or the Volkssturm.

The 3rd Army discovered the secret Nazi treasury, in Merkers, containing \$100,000,000 in gold ingots, immense quantities of currency of all nations, and treasures robbed from the museums and libraries of all Europe. The American 9th pounded into Essen, where the personnel of the Krupp armament and munitions plant had shrunk from 200,000 men to seven. But the whole victorious army was saddened by the news, on April 12, that the American Commander-in-Chief, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, had died suddenly, another remote but definite casualty of the war.

THE RUSSIANS STRIKE FOR BERLIN

The third and last German drive into Russia was commenced on July 5, 1943, between Orel, southwest of Moscow, and Belgorod, northwest of Stalingrad. A brief initial German success was halted; and a month later the Red Army recaptured both key towns, and regained the initiative. At this time, the Allies were still struggling to capture Sicily, far on the southern rim of the European battlefront. The Russians never ceased their sledgehammer blows; and frantically the Germans were forced into withdrawal after

withdrawal, when the anchor towns on their new defense lines were captured.

In early January, 1944, when the Allies were bogged down far below Rome, the Russians drove the Nazis back from Leningrad toward Pskov, which fell to the Russians in March. At this time, the Germans had more than 200 divisions on Russian territory—almost 3,000,000 Nazi troops. The Russians not only destroyed this cream of the Wehrmacht, but destroyed or captured the immense quantity of materiel transported into Russia to support it. The Ukraine was recaptured, incredibly costly to the dwindling German food resources, and correspondingly strengthening to Russia. In spite of desperate German resistance, in which every wrecked Russian city was turned into a bristling fortress, called a "hedgehog," steadily the Russian army advanced from five to 15 miles a day, forcing the thrashed Nazis to retreat closer and closer to Germany, and ultimate disaster.

Kiev, capital of the Ukraine, was recaptured by the Russians by brilliant warfare. By February 1, 1944, four months before the battle for the Normandy beachheads, the Russians were pounding on a front extending from the Gulf of Finland to the Black Sea, with lightning strokes at far remote places that left the shattered Wehrmacht dazed and staggering. Swiftly the Dnieper, the Bug, and the Dniester Rivers were reconquered for Russia. On May 9, a heroic attack restored to the Russians Sevastopol, completing the reconquest of the Crimea.

When the Allies landed in Normandy, the Russians staged at the same time a tremendous offensive in White Russia. Minsk fell to the Red Armies on July 3; by the 17th, 60,000 fresh German prisoners were marched through Moscow. On August 1, the Polish patriots in Warsaw rose against their Nazi overlords. The Russians, already at the border of Poland, did not come to the aid of the desperately struggling

Poles in time, and the Poles could fight only with weapons seized from the Germans. The Germans fought with bombers, flame throwers, tanks, armored cars, and antiaircraft guns converted into artillery.

On September 11, Soviet planes drove off the German Luftwaffe, and dropped food and munitions to the Polish Home Army. On October 2, the Germans wiped out the last Polish resistance in Warsaw, with the almost complete annihilation of the desperate Poles.

In January, 1945, just after the Allied victory at the Battle of the Bulge on the Western Front, the Red Army commenced its final drive against Berlin. Two hundred Nazi divisions opposed them. Led by Marshals Zhukoff and Koneff, the Russians swept around Warsaw, broke through the tautly defended Sandomierz bridgehead, while two other armies blitzed to the north. Warsaw fell, and Cracow. Zhukoff advanced 150 miles in six days; while Koneff, against harsher opposition, averaged 18 miles advance a day. The incredible speed of the Russian advance is shown by the fact that 1,750 cities, towns and villages were captured by them on January 22 alone.

East Prussia was now pocketed, and Posen and Breslau were threatened. When the Nazi made a last stand at Torun, Posen and Breslau, the Russians bypassed these fortresses and raced ahead toward the west. On January 26, the Baltic coast near Danzig was reached. By the 1st of February, the Russians were deep into Silesia, Pomerania and Brandenburg, and the roads to Berlin were black with panicky refugees. On the next day the Russians were 46 miles from Berlin, and were menacing Frankfurt and Kuestrin on the Oder. The Russians now paused, to straighten out their offensive line. The 40 day offensive had cost the Germans 800,000 men killed, and 350,000 more captured; with 3,000 German planes, 4,500 tanks, and 12,000 large guns captured.

Meanwhile, the Russians reduced the various fortresses and cities that had been bypassed, Koenigsberg, capital of East Prussia, not falling until April 9. As two great Red armies drove toward Vienna, the last chapter took place. Budapest, capital of Hungary, fell to Russian arms February 13, after a terrific struggle. Two months to a day later, Vienna was captured. These steps were necessary to permit the Russians to surge up the Danube valley and thus avoid the 900 mile natural fortress of the Carpathian Mountains, which had resisted all Russian assaults in the first World War. Brno fell, and three Red armies drove onward to seize the balance of Moravia. Bands of Czechoslovak partisans were an invaluable aid to the Russians in this.

THE FALL OF BERLIN: V-E DAY

On September 24, 1944, the Allies invaded Albania by air and sea; while British troops, on plane, glider, and ship, invaded Greece. Only in Crete did the Germans hold out. In Greece, when the EAM, or National Revolutionary Front, and the ELAS, its military force, objected to the existing regime, the British put down their opposition by plane and tanks. A wave of outraged indignation swept England at this Churchill interpretation of spreading democracy.

The final stages of the Italian campaign now took place. On April 19, 1945, the major breakthrough occurred. On April 21, Bologna fell; on the 27th, Verona and Genoa were captured. Benito Mussolini had been a hunted man for many weeks. He begged the Germans to take him and his final mistress, a 25 year old Roman girl, Clara Petacci, into Switzerland. The German car containing the discredited fascist Duce and his mistress was captured by Italian partisans. He was tried in summary fashion at once, and condemned to immediate death as a war criminal. When his mistress insisted on dying beside him, the two were bound to chairs and died at the first volley of the execution squad. On April 30,

General Clark announced that the German army in Italy had ceased to exist. The German surrender included 1,000,000 prisoners. The American cost, as announced by the Secretary of War, was 21,557 killed; 77,248 wounded; missing, 10,338.

On May 2, 1945, the burning bloodied wreck that was Berlin surrendered to the Russians. Four Russian armies, more than 2,000,000 crack troops, under Zhukoff, Rokossovsky, Koneff and other brilliant commanders, had poised for the kill. Koneff had struck first, toward the south—leading the Germans to believe he was merely aiming for a juncture with the American 1st Army. Under a powerful artillery barrage, his troops crossed the Neisse, 100 miles southeast of Berlin. Prefabricated bridges permitted the tanks to cross. His pace increased from six miles a day to 28 miles a day. At the Spree, he ignored flank attacks and daringly drove straight ahead. As the Germans massed around Dresden and Leipzig, Koneff turned sharply north, against Berlin itself.

Meanwhile Zhukoff began battering from the east, while the two other Russian armies circled around to the north. His artillery and his tanks opened the attack at nightfall, and a huge battery of 100 searchlights revealed the enemy, at the same time that it blinded them. Berlin's outer defenses crumbled at once, and on April 20—Hitler's birthday—the Red Army burst into the streets of Berlin itself.

The street fighting was as desperate as in Stalingrad. But the Russians, on the defensive then, were on the offensive now, and were not to be stopped.

On May 1, the German radios announced that Hitler was dead, and that Grand Admiral Karl Doenitz was his successor. Goebbels, the warped satanic little Iago, committed suicide. The Nazis claimed that Hitler and his wife, Eva Braun, had killed themselves in the ex-Fuehrer's subterranean retreat, and their bodies had been promptly burned.

While the Allies believe Hitler is dead, no positive proof has ever been found. The Germans themselves set the Reichstag on fire with inflammatory shells, an echo of the Nazi firing of the Reichstag in 1933, which was then blamed on the Communists. On May 2, after an abortive May 1 offer to surrender, what was left of Berlin laid down its arms to Russia in unconditional surrender.

On May 7, representatives of the German High Command signed a full unconditional surrender with Eisenhower in Rheims. This was formally ratified in Berlin the following day.

On April 25, the United Nations opened their conference in San Francisco. On that same day, the first American and Russian troops met in the heart of conquered Germany. By May 12, the last shots in Europe—in World War II—had been fired.

It now came out that as far back as May 3, the Germans had offered to surrender to Great Britain and the United States, but not to Russia. General Montgomery refused the offer at once.

As early as April, 1945, a directive had been issued by the United States government to General Eisenhower, Commander in Chief of the United States Forces of Occupation, going into detail as to how defeated Germany was to be ruled, in the part assigned to the United States—Great Britain, Russia, and France each being given another zone to rule, with Berlin under all four. The purposes of the occupation, Eisenhower was told, were to teach Germany that the Germans were responsible for all that had happened. They were to be ruled, not for liberation, but as a defeated enemy nation. Fraternization was to be discouraged, both with officials and the population—a regulation that was later liberalized. The chief object of the American occupation was to prevent Germany from ever again becoming a threat to the peace of the world. The occupation was to secure the elimination of

Nazism and militarism in all their forms; the immediate apprehension of suspected war criminals for punishment; the industrial disarmament and demilitarization of Germany, with a continuing control over Germany's capacity to make war; and the preparation for an eventual reconstruction of German political life on a democratic basis. The occupation was furthermore to enforce reparations and restitution; to provide relief for countries devastated by Nazi aggression; and to insure that prisoners of war and misplaced persons of the United Nations were to be cared for and repatriated. It was especially insisted that the deNazification of Germany be thorough in every detail. A similar directive was soon to be issued to General MacArthur, governing his rule of conquered Japan.

The Russian directive for the rule of the Russian zone of conquered Germany included part payment of reparations to Russia in the form of capital goods and machinery, German aircraft, naval vessels and merchant marine, and the rolling stock of German railways; and the use of German war prisoners as labor battallions to rebuild Russian cities. This last element was widely criticized in certain other lands as virtual slavery.

On July 17, Germany announced that between 13,000,000 and 14,000,000 German casualties had occurred, with between four and five millions killed in battle, and between 100,000 and 500,000 civilians killed during air raids. Great Britain reported 60,000 civilians killed by enemy action.

The incredible swiftness of the final Russian blitz, the overnight wholesale collapse of Hitler's rotted Nazi structure, the speedy floodtide of the Allies over eastern, western and southern Germany, bared complete evidence of German atrocities, which otherwise the bloody sadists would have had time to hide. All of this was legally prepared for presentation to the War Crimes Courts. Eisenhower discovered universal evidences of what MacArthur had already dis-

covered among the Japanese: death marches of prisoners of war, women, and children; their being transported in un-roofed cattle cars or in sealed freight cars without light, heat or any sanitary facilities, causing wholesale deaths during the journey. Released prisoners showed wide evidence of starvation, brutal treatment, punishment of death for minor offenses, enslavement at war industries, callous beatings, the denial of medical treatment, with American Red Cross supplies destined for them stolen and stored by the Germans—and all of this contrary to the Geneva Convention—enough to wake the conscience of anyone but a Nazi. When too weak to work further, as at a camp east of Salzburg, prisoners were picked up from the place where they had fallen, and thrust alive into roaring furnaces. Army moving pictures were taken of these and of the worst atrocities at Belsen and other political prison camps. Here naked women and men were forced to parade for hours in icy winter rains, for the amusement of the gloating Germans. Others were turned in daily to vicious dogs owned by the German women and men jailers, after the dogs had been maddened by deliberate starvation; and the jailers watched while the victims were torn, shrieking, to death. Vivisection was callously practiced on men, women and children, and thousands were injected with fatal diseases for “experimental” purposes, and with lethal drugs which permitted the Germans to study the death-agonies. Women were flogged on their breasts, their sensitive soles, and were forced to prostitute themselves to their jailers. Kramer, head of the Belsen house of horrors, had graduated to there from Oswiecim in Poland. He refined on earlier tortures, having SS (Storm Trooper) women under his command tie living men, women and children to dead ones, and slowly roast them. Buchenwald was as bad, and was officially described as an extermination factory. Dachau near Munich was famous for killing by inoculating with disease viruses. In the last two, guards and their wives preserved

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tanned human skin, for lampshades, gloves and shoes. On one railway siding, 39 freight cars were found loaded with corpses of the slain victims.

Such, infinitely multiplied, were the practices of the Super Race. It is lucky for civilization that the new offense, war crimes, has been isolated, and will henceforth be punished by death. It was from continent-wide and world-wide horrors such as these that the magnificent heroism of the Allies saved Europe and the world.

CHAPTER XLIII

TWILIGHT OVER TOKYO

ROOSEVELT AND THE FOURTH TERM

ONE of the things that amazed the desperately battling dictators, in 1944, was that the United States took time off to hold its regular quadriennial presidential election. Willkie, the 1940 Republican candidate, had spent the four years since his defeat grooming himself for a renomination. In 1942 he toured the world, with Roosevelt's encouragement; and on his return wrote *One World*, a narrative of his discovery that the Motor Age had made the world smaller and its people closer neighbors. Although this became a best seller, the Republican Guard favored anyone rather than this reformed New Dealer with his record of defeat.

Out of a dearth of promising candidates, Governor Thomas E. Dewey, of New York, emerged as the best vote-getter. Primary tests showed that Willkie had no appreciable following. At the Republican Convention held at Chicago, June 26-28, Dewey was nominated for President on the first ballot by a vote of 1,056 to 1 vote cast for General MacArthur. The convention displayed less enthusiasm than any within our memory. D-Day had taken place less than three weeks before. Daily headlines of heroic American fighting on the Normandy beachheads, and of the fall of Cherbourg, shrank to insignificance the news that the Republicans had nominated for Vice-President Governor John W. Bricker of Ohio, by unanimous vote. Clearly, the whole

country realized, this was no time to break the team of the Big Three, Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin, whose plans were maturing so successfully toward the unconditional surrender of Germany and Japan. A change of government now would cost American lives, and postpone or even jeopardize Allied success. A lot of Americans, in their opposition to the New Deal, voted for such a change.

On October 8, a month before the election, Willkie suddenly died. Disappointment at his rejection as standard-bearer for the second time may have played its part.

The Republican platform underwrote the New Deal's prosecution of the war; promised the equivalent of the New Deal's social security measures; but came out for an end of government planning and guiding in business, promising to substitute therefor free American private enterprise. It went on record as being against more than two terms for any president. The platform could be summed up as an approval of the way the government was being run, in the main, with an insistence that the job of running it be turned over to the Republicans.

The Democratic Convention met in Chicago on July 19-21. Roosevelt was nominated for the fourth term on the first ballot—89 protest votes being cast for Senator Harry F. Byrd of Virginia, who was not a candidate. Vice-President Wallace led for Vice-President on the first ballot; on the second, Senator Harry S. Truman of Missouri received the nomination. The Democratic party stood on its record—on experience as against immaturity—and waged its main campaign on the battlefields of Europe and the Pacific.

Dewey made an unimpressive candidate. Roosevelt was elected by an electoral vote of 423 to 99. Dewey carried all the States that had voted for Willkie in 1940, except Michigan; instead, he won Ohio, Wisconsin and Wyoming from the Democratic columns. In popular vote, Roosevelt received 25,610,946 to Dewey's 22,018,177—a lead of 3,592,769.

with unimpressive minor party votes as usual. Both candidates received less votes than the 1940 candidates had received.

On April 12, 1945, Roosevelt died suddenly at Warm Springs, Georgia, and Vice-President Truman succeeded to the presidency, and membership in the Big Three.

THE SOLOMONS AND THE ALEUTIANS

Credit for the victory over Germany was shared between the Russians, the British and the Americans. Victory over Japan was almost an American monopoly.

On February 2, 1942, a Japanese submarine shelled an oil refinery in Santa Barbara, California, splintering a few boards in a pier along the ocean. In June, Fort Stevens, Oregon, was similarly shelled, without damage. In the summer of the same year, the Japanese occupied two of the westernmost Aleutian Islands, part of the chain forming a bridge from the Russian peninsula of Kamchatka to Alaska. These islands were evidently intended as a springboard from which to launch an invasion of Alaska, Canada and the Pacific Coast. It was not until the next summer that they were finally ejected from this part of North America.

The immense mushroom Japanese Empire stretched now in a solid block from Australia to Alaska, including the fabulous wealth and natural resources represented by the Dutch and British East Indies. To defeat this called for naval resources capable of crushing Japan's Navy, of unknown strength, and thought to be enormously formidable. It called also for a capable air force, to drive her lethal flotillas from the skies. Most of all, it called for the surprise landing of hundreds of thousands of soldiers, with all the ponderous mechanized equipment, tanks, trucks, artillery, antiaircraft guns and other material, on every kind of shore, in the face of fanatical opposition. At first, by agreement with Churchill, our major energy was directed against Germany—an im-

mense task for any nation. Without materially slacking this effort at any time, the United States simultaneously unloosed enough amphibious power in the Pacific to smash the Japanese—the two fronts together constituting an incredible display of all-out military strength.

To meet the test in the Pacific, weird new ships were invented, sea-going but for shore-landing purposes, and these were stored with enough material to permit the invaders to compete with a thoroughly mechanized opposition. This force was called the Alligator Navy, the Amphibs, and, by the regular navy, the Ambiguous Navy: notably the LSTs (Landing Ships, Tanks), which could be beached, turned inside out, emptied, and be back after another load without delay. The fighting had to be done on bare beaches, ghastly sun-baked atolls, in disease-breathing fetid jungles, up bare stone mountains. The Japanese had been trained for years for just such fighting. The Americans took it up, and soon excelled them.

The first American amphibious landing was made in August, 1942, at Guadalcanal, in the Solomons, 800 miles off New Guinea, and 1700 miles from Australia. From a base 3,600 miles away, the Marines, in wooden ramp boats and tank lighters, dashed ashore with insufficient mechanized equipment—but with sufficient American courage and grit. They took the beaches, and conquered in the ghastly jungle fighting that followed. Guadalcanal furnished a protection to the lines of Allied shipping to Australia, as well as a fine airfield Japan had just completed. The Marines captured the airfield by surprise attack the second day. Guadalcanal set the pattern thereafter for these amphibious invasions.

Other landings in the Solomons were stubbornly contested, but all were successful. The desperate Japanese counterattacks that followed all failed. On November 13–15, the American and Japanese fleets locked in combat off Guadalcanal, with a loss of 28 Japanese ships, with 16 more dam-

aged, to an American loss of nine ships. Air power helped; but this was an actual engagement of fleet artillery. By February 10, 1943, the Japanese had finally withdrawn from the island, after months of desperate fighting to regain Henderson Field. On March 4, the naval battle of the Bismarck Sea was another crushing defeat for the men of Nippon.

On May 11, the Japanese garrison of 3,000 men at Attu, in the Aleutians, was attacked, 2,989 of the defenders were killed, or committed hara-kiri; only 11 chose to surrender. On August 15 United States and Canadian troops landed on nearby Kiska but the Japanese garrison of 10,000 had already escaped under cover of fog.

On August 14, Munda Airfield, on New Georgia in the central Solomons, fell to the Americans, after the last defender had been ruthlessly jungle-hunted and slain. Bougainville, the most westerly of the Solomons, was the last to fall, the new LSTs being used for the first time in this invasion. Flame-throwers, developed in the United States, were used; and a vital position was captured with the rest of the island bypassed. By the end of August, the Solomons were swept almost clean of Japanese invaders. This process of taking island after island was called "island-hopping," and considering the number of Pacific Islands involved, threatened to become an unending process.

BLOWS TOWARD TOKYO

The Americans plunged next against the Gilbert Islands to the northeast. They were more remote from the Philippines, and the campaign was apparently an interruption to the westward-northward surge toward Tokyo. But the pattern of the American strategy began to emerge; for this was the beginning of an island-to-island campaign directed straight at Tokyo through the Central Pacific. Here the coral island of Tarawa had been turned by Japan into a miniature Gibraltar, with the aid of concrete and steel. The island af-

forded absolutely no cover to attacking forces. Three days of bloody hand-to-hand fighting breached the fortress, and on November 30 the coral Gibraltar fell.

Makin Atoll, on the northwestward line to Tokyo, fell on November 20 to the smoothly articulated Navy-Marines-Army team. On December 17, while the Allies in Italy were bogged down in their progress toward Rome, New Britain, between the Solomons and rich New Guinea, was invaded. After a month of heavy fighting, southern New Britain was in American hands.

Next on the road to Tokyo came the Marshall Islands, former German colonies handed over to the Japanese by the League of Nations in 1918. The Japanese, expecting a continuance of the island-hopping policy, heavily fortified the outer islands. Shrewdly the Americans bypassed these, and assaulted Kwajalein instead, the strongest naval base east of Truk in the Carolines. On January 3, 1944, after two days of intensive softening by fleet and plane, the amphibious armada beached. By February 4, the island surrendered. The Americans had learned from the costly carnage of their troops at Tarawa, and landed only after the enemy shelters had been destroyed. As a result, the Americans lost only 286 lives, to more than 8,000 Japanese killed.

To implement the attack further, Task Force 58 was aggregated, with power of movement and striking force hitherto not dreamed of. The global 20th Air Force was organized in April, composed of B-29 Superfortress Bombers, half as large again as the Flying Fortresses. About the time that Eniwetok was captured, MacArthur, Supreme Commander in the Southwest Pacific, crashed down the Bismarck Sea to assail Los Negros Island in the Admiralties, just north of New Guinea.

At the height of their power the Japanese had been established on New Guinea at Lae, Salamaua and Finschhafen, on the New Britain side; aiming from here to slice across the

lofty Owen Stanley Mountains to Port Moresby which controlled access to Australia. But the mountains defeated the Japanese first. Buna and Gona were captured by the Americans and Australians; and Papua—southeastern New Guinea—cleared of the invaders. In June, 1943, land troops commenced the assault on Finschhafen, Salamaua and Lae. All three fell, after ghastly jungle fighting, before mid-December. In April, 1944, Aitape and Hollandia on the northern coast were attacked; and, in May, the Wakde Islands and Biak, further west.

Meanwhile, the drive toward Tokyo in the central Pacific continued. On June 15, nine days after D-Day in Europe, Saipan, in the Marianas, previously softened by Task Force 58, was assaulted, and captured in the costliest fighting yet seen in the Pacific, with 25,000 dead Japanese buried by the Americans. On July 21, Guam was recaptured. On the 30, Cape Sansipor on the western tip of New Guinea was taken; and the way was open for the reconquest of the Philippines.

THE LIBERATION OF THE PHILIPPINES

On October 20, bypassing minor islands, the Americans, having taken Morotai in the Halmaheras, and Peleliu in the Palaus, struck at the Philippine island of Leyte, in force. In less than one day, 125,000 troops were ashore; double that number, in the first few days. On October 24, three powerful Japanese fleets were sighted, approaching Leyte Gulf, with the evident intention of severely crippling or even destroying the United States Navy, to permit them to annihilate General MacArthur's invading forces. The American 7th Fleet commander, Admiral Kincaid, detailed Rear Admiral Oldendorf to meet the Japanese Southern Force, as it passed at night from Mindanao Sea into narrow Surigao Strait and Leyte Gulf. In succession, PT-boats, destroyers, and the battleship squadron composed of the five old ships the Japanese believed had been destroyed at Pearl Harbor

blasted the Japanese, and at daylight the last Japanese ship sank. The Japanese Central Force, near Samar, was more successful against Admiral Sprague's escort carriers; but at noon they steamed away, perhaps to avoid the fate that had met the Southern Force. The American 3rd Fleet, under Admiral Halsey, at dawn of the 25th, surprised the Japanese Northern Force off Cape Engano, and destroyed or seriously damaged every Japanese ship. Fifty-seven Japanese ships were hit, of which 36 were sunk or probably went to the bottom; while only seven American ships were sunk, and five damaged.

In the stubborn fight for Leyte, 2,750 Americans were killed, while more than 125,000 Japanese were killed. In two months, the American air force sank 653 Japanese ships, in addition to those destroyed in the Battle for Leyte Gulf; and shot down 2,594 Japanese planes, with an American loss of only 300 planes. Every Japanese effort to reinforce Leyte was attacked, and most of them were annihilated. On December 15, the combined Allied forces bypassed Cebu and other islands, and struck at Mindoro, 155 miles southward of Manila. The Americans proceeded to achieve the Mindoro landing, in spite of having to ride through one of the worst typhoons that ever struck the Philippines.

As President Roosevelt announced to Congress on January 6, 1945, in one year American forces had driven the Japanese back 3,000 miles across the central and southwestern Pacific,—"the fastest-moving offensive in the history of modern warfare." The United States Navy was now by all odds the most powerful in the history of the world, with 1,167 warships, 54,206 landing craft, and 5,672 other ships—led by 23 battleships, 63 cruisers, and 86 carriers and escort carriers, as well as 30,700 new aircraft.

On January 9, 1945, Luzon was invaded, at Lingayan and San Fabian. On February 16, Corregidor was recaptured. Manila was reentered, and MacArthur turned the govern-

ment at once back to the Philippine President, Sergio Osmeña. By July 4, much of Luzon had been cleared of the Japanese, and the Philippines were virtually freed.

The road to Tokyo was resumed by the attack on Iwo Jima in the Volcanic Islands, only 750 miles from Tokyo itself. Meanwhile, the Superfortresses were bombing the industrial and war munitions centers of Japan into pulverized rubbish. Iwo Jima, only five miles long and less than two miles wide, had been fortified by the Japanese until they boasted that it was impregnable. To bewilder the Japanese, on February 16 the American fleet sailed close to the Japanese coast, and sent 1,200 planes against Tokyo itself. When Iwo Jima was attacked, Squadron 10 of Task Force 58 was at hand with enough fuel oil to make a tank-car train 238 miles long, or further than the distance from New York City to Washington; enough gasoline to run 30,000 automobiles for a year; enough food to feed a city the size of Atlanta or Louisville for a month; and ammunition, bombs and all needed materiel in proportion.

THE FINAL STRATEGY

On February 19, 1945, 800 naval vessels, with 220,000 personnel, carrying 60,000 Marines, closed in on Iwo, defended by 23,000 Japanese. By March 16, after 26 days of desperate fighting, the impregnable island had been cleared of the Japanese, with a loss of 4,189 Marines to more than 20,000 dead Japanese. Meanwhile, the B-29s turned Japan into a land of desolation.

The Japanese occupation of most of Burma closed the Burma Road, which had led from Rangoon through Mandalay and Bhamo into China and was the only means the Allies had of reaching China with munitions and supplies. In 1943 American engineers, with Chinese and American jungle fighters under General Stilwell clearing the way, began the incredibly difficult task of building a new road—the Ledo or

Stilwell Road—from Assam across the Naga Hills into central Burma. After the fall of the key center of Myitkyina in August, 1944, the new road was gradually opened into China. During the same period, and after the road was reopened, thousands of tons of critical supplies were flown across “The Hump” of the eastern Himalayas into China by American fliers.

Unable to attack the continental United States in any other way, the Japanese launched bomb-carrying paper balloons, to be carried by high wind currents across the Pacific. A few landed in Canada and the United States, one as far inland as Michigan. A few civilians who picked up the bombs were killed. The Japanese also utilized Kamikaze or suicide planes, which damaged many Allied warships and transports—the Japanese pilot in each case diving to certain death. Another form of suicide plane was the Baka bomb, a jet-propelled monoplane launched from another plane at a tremendous speed; and, while more of a potential menace than the Kamikazes, the Bakas did less damage. To add to the confusion in Japan, on April 5 the Soviet Union denounced its non-aggression pact with Japan.

On Easter Sunday, April 1, the Americans invaded Okinawa, in the Ryuku Islands, within 400 miles of Japan proper. The island, 67 miles long, and from three to 10 miles wide, had 500,000 inhabitants and a garrison of 100,000 Japanese. The fighting on Okinawa was unbelievably destructive, the Japanese losing about 40 planes to every American plane lost. To indicate the opposition encountered, it required 44 days for three American divisions to advance 15,000 yards. The island surrendered on June 21, 1,700 Japanese yielding at the very moment that their two commanders committed ritual hara-kiri. More than 103,000 Japanese had been killed, with only 7,000 prisoners. American Army casualties were 50,000, of whom 12,500 were killed or missing, while 5,000 of the Navy personnel were

lost similarly. These latter were largely caused by Japanese Kamikaze and Baka attacks, which continued even after the island was lost.

Japan proper lay at the mercy of the invaders. Premier Suzuki had already told the Japanese Cabinet,

Our hopes to win this war are anchored solely on the fighting on Okinawa. The fate of the nation and its people depends on the outcome.

And now Okinawa had surrendered. By now it was possible to see clearly how the progress of the war had shifted the balance of naval power from Japan to the United States. In 1942, Japan had 376 warships to our 346; in 1945, Japan had 57, to our 1,110. Japan's 12 battleships, 16 carriers and 43 cruisers had shrunk to one damaged battleship, two undamaged and two damaged carriers, and the same number of cruisers, damaged and undamaged. Our 16 battleships, one carrier and 37 cruisers had increased to 23 battleships, 98 carriers, and 71 cruisers. Our Navy had grown from the 1939 figure of 1,213,790 tons, 90% then of British naval strength, to 11,707,000 tons, a Navy equal to the navies of all the rest of the world. The bomb-shattered Japanese Islands would be helpless before an attack spearheaded by this unparalleled naval power.

General Marshall reported, after the war, that, after Operations GALVANIC (The Gilbert Islands), FLINT-LOCK (The Marshall Islands), FORAGER (The Marianas), and the operations against Iwo Jima and Okinawa, American strategy had called for two more operations against the 3,000,000 Japanese troops in Japan and the 4,000,000 elsewhere, and the far more than 8,000 remaining Japanese planes determined upon suicide tactics. Operation OLYMPIC was timed for the autumn of 1945, and called for a three-pronged assault on Kyushu, the southernmost of the four Japanese main islands, by the 6th United States Army including the 5th Marine Amphibious Corps.

They were to land at Miyazaki on the east, Awiaka Wan on the southeast, and on the beaches west of Kagoshima to the southwest—all this to be preceded by a feint off the central Japanese island of Shikoku.

The final phase of the Japanese invasion was to be Operation CORONET, to be launched in the early spring of 1946. The 8th and 10th Armies—nine infantry divisions, two armored divisions and three Marine divisions—were to assault the Kanto (Tokyo) plain of eastern Honshu, the direct gateway to Tokyo. The 1st Army, veterans of the blitz across France and Germany, were to follow them ashore with 10 infantry divisions, all amply protected by naval and air forces; and these three armies were to destroy the Japanese forces on this chief Japanese island, and take over the Tokyo-Yokohama area.

The Japanese phase of World War II had opened melodramatically enough, with simultaneous ruin rained on Pearl Harbor, Manila, Midway, Wake, Guam, Singapore, Thailand, HongKong and Shanghai. It seemed impossible that the war's end could have any such elements of astounding melodrama as the beginning had had.

The impossible happened.

CHAPTER XLIV

OPENING OF THE ATOMIC AGE—JAPAN SURRENDERS

PRELUDE TO CHAOS

IT SEEMS probable that Hitler and his inner circle of Nazi conspirators were not quite prepared for actual warfare on September 1, 1939, when Poland was invaded—except as to full conventional military preparedness. At that time, the Nazis had a number of proposed new weapons under development, planned to destroy so many of the human race that the panicky remnant would at once gladly surrender themselves into perpetual slavery to the Super-Race.

Among these incomplete weapons were 100-ton tanks, like land super-battleships; robot jet-propelled planes and bombs, two small versions of which were used toward the end of the war against England as weapons V-1 and V-2; a sun-gun, consisting of a sodium mirror more than a square mile in area, to be floated up in parts to a height 5,100 miles above the earth, which would be able to focus the sun's burning rays and burn to a crisp all of the life of a continent; and, last of all, atomic bombs, able to annihilate a city instantaneously.

The atom was first split wide open, by bombardment of its nucleus by a neutron at high speed, early in 1939, at the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute in Berlin, by Professor Otto Hahn and Dr. Lise Meitner. For a target, they used uranium, the largest atom known; for a missile, they used a neutron obtained by bombarding the metal beryllium with alpha rays, such as

come from radium. The uranium atom broke into two smaller atoms, with a transfer of 6% of the mass into an energy of 100,000,00 electron volts, the greatest energy ever released on earth. Where only uranium should be, barium, with an atomic weight only a little more than half that of uranium, appeared. Where had it come from?

Before the question could be answered, Dr. Meitner, a distinguished scientist 60 years old whose family had lived in Germany for generations, was forced to leave Germany by Hitler's anti-Jewish decrees, as a non-Aryan. Bound desolately for Stockholm, her mind fought with the unsolved problem of the unexplained presence of barium, where only uranium should have been. Suddenly a fantastic answer came to her: that barium was one of the products of splitting the uranium atom. She dismissed the thought, at first, as fantastic. It would not depart. Calculations proved to her that barium and krypton, 56 and 36 nuclear units, each, would satisfy the result. Further figuring established that, if this had happened, 200,000,000 electron volts per atom would have been released.

Once arrived in Stockholm, Dr. Meitner submitted a report of the discovery to a scientific journal, so that scientists throughout the world might go ahead on the problem. Then she telegraphed her findings to a scientist friend in Copenhagen, Dr. R. Frisch. Frisch was the son-in-law of the Nobel Prize winner Professor Niels Bohr, then in America carrying on investigations with Einstein at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton; and with a third Nobel Prize winner in physics, Enrico Fermi, at Columbia. Frisch cabled the information to Dr. Bohr, and at once repeated the Hahn-Meitner experiment at the University of Copenhagen.

Bohr and Fermi, after corroborating the figures, assembled at once a conference of the leading atomic authorities at Columbia, which owned one of the largest cyclotrons in the world. For 36 hours these physicists labored, repeating the

experiment; and succeeded as in the original experiment in Berlin. On January 27, 1939, Dr. Bohr quietly announced the result to a gathering of physicists at George Washington University. The atomic age had begun! It had begun in Germany; and had been driven out of that Nazi viper-pit by Hitler's insanity on racial matters. But for this, the result of World War II might have been distinctly different. The experiment was again repeated, and succeeded; word coming from Frisch that he had had the same result in Copenhagen just before.

Such a release of atomic energy, Dr. Bohr knew, should start a chain of similar releases. Experiment determined that a uranium isotope, U-235, was the atom split; and that normal uranium, U-238, quenched the chain-activity. Scientists all over the world tackled the problem of isolating the U-235; and soon this was done simultaneously by several scientists. Production in greater bulk was made possible by a method developed in Germany for other purposes a few years previously. Finally Professor Wilhelm Krasny-Ergen, of the University of Stockholm, Sweden, developed a method of increasing the production of U-235, 12,500 times.

The invasion of Norway terminated these researches before the apparatus needed was completed. The world's supply of uranium, chiefly from the ore called pitchblende, is found in Canada, in Germany, in the Belgian Congo, in Australia, and in Colorado in the form of carnotite. Once the situation became known, the nations raced for the invention of an atomic bomb, with Germany in the lead at first. But her factories in Norway, making the heavy water needed for the process, were destroyed by daring partisan sabotage, throwing back her investigations at least a year; and, when the factories were rebuilt, they were wiped out of existence by American bombers. Germany, it is claimed, sent saboteurs to destroy the American atomic laboratories. Due to FBI

alertness, no sabotage took place. As early as June, 1940, American scientists were put to work on the problem.

In 1942, the new element plutonium, with an atomic weight of 239, was created: an element which served the purposes of U-235 and which was far easier to produce. By January, 1943, a plant to produce plutonium was secretly erected on the Columbia River at Hanford, Washington, designed and operated by the duPont Company. A pilot plant for the production of plutonium was built at Clinton, Tennessee. A third ghost city—the total populations of all three being more than 100,000—was built at Los Alamos, New Mexico, on a mesa a score of miles from Santa Fe—this being for the final assembly of the bombs.

To produce the explosion of such an atomic bomb, the critical size of the plutonium mass had only to be exceeded. This could be best done in safety, to avoid detonation, by assembling the bomb in parts. It was determined that this could be best done by shooting one part of the projection in a gun against the second part as a target.

In complete secrecy, the first bomb was ready July 16, 1945—40 days after the unconditional surrender of Germany. Its explosive power was computed to be the equivalent of 20,000 tons of TNT—a vaster explosive power, according to the scientists in charge, than had ever been released in the world by man. For safety, all study of the action of the test bomb had to be done from a distance of several miles away. Especially equipped B-29s went into the stratosphere, to study the effect there. More than three hundred scientists were present at the test near Los Alamos, and about 250 military personnel, to insure protective measures. And then, the test bomb was exploded.

The flash was seen as far as Amarillo, Texas, 450 miles to the east. Examination disclosed that all life, vegetable as well as animal, was destroyed for a space of two miles in diameter. The sand for a radius of almost half a mile was

burned into an obsidian-like substance the color of green jade. A steel tower over 30 tons in weight half a mile away became a twisted wreck. The actual steel tower from which the bomb was hung turned into vapor.

THE FIRST ATOMIC BOMB HITS HIROSHIMA

Never before in man's history had the head of a great world power announced the first use of a military weapon. On August 7, 1945, President Truman and the War Department announced formally that an atomic bomb, possessing more power than 20,000 tons of TNT, a destructive force equal to the simultaneous discharge of the lethal load of 2,000 B-29s, and with more than 2,000 times the blast power of the world's most devastating bomb so far, had been dropped on the Japanese industrial city of Hiroshima. A report of the successful New Mexico experimental bomb had been rushed to the President at Potsdam, Germany, where he was meeting with Churchill and Stalin; and Truman had at once ordered General Spaatz to drop a bomb on the industrial installations of any of four selected cities, from which he could choose according to weather and target, any time after August 3.

Before 9 o'clock, on that Monday morning, the 350,000 inhabitants of Hiroshima had scurried to their air-raid shelters at an alarm sounded when two B-29s appeared high overhead. The planes vanished, after brief reconnaissance. The "All clear!" was sounded. A few moments later a third B-29, bearing the bomb, appeared. At 9:15 A. M. a parachute dropped, with the bomb at its end. When the bomb was about 1,500 feet above the ground, the explosion occurred. A sudden flare of blinding green fire appeared which was visible 150 miles away. A funnel of smoke, dust and bright fire mounted up to the stratosphere—40,000 feet above the ground—in two minutes. In a fraction of a second, 60 per cent of Hiroshima, a city of 350,000—as large

as Denver, Portland, or Seattle—human, animal and vegetable, had been annihilated. More than a tenth of the population died in the first instant; as many more died of their injuries; as many more vanished.

President Truman solemnly announced:

We are now prepared to obliterate more rapidly and completely every productive enterprise the Japanese have above ground in any city. . . . Let there be no mistake; we shall completely destroy Japan's power to make war. . . . If the Japanese leaders do not now accept our terms, they may expect a rain of ruin from the air, the like of which has never been seen on this earth.

As if to implement these words, the second atomic bomb fell on Nagasaki, Japan, three days later. The devastation was even more final and complete. Eighteen thousand of Nagasaki's 50,000 buildings vanished into dust, and nearly 30,000 of her 230,800 people died the instant the bomb struck.

It had cost \$2,000,000,000 to construct the first bombs. In view of its almost immediate result in bringing the costly war to an end, it was worth it.

RUSSIA ENTERS THE WAR AGAINST JAPAN

On August 8, two days after the first atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima, Russia declared war against Japan. Window-dressed as a diplomatic victory for Truman, this was precisely akin to the Russian invasion of Poland at the moment that Poland was about to be engulfed by the Nazis: a Soviet insistence on being in at the kill, to protect the enormous Russian interests in Sakhalin, the Kuriles, Red China and Manchuria.

For years, the flower of the Japanese army had been immobilized in Manchuria, facing crack armored Soviet units

just across the border. Nine minutes after the declaration of war became effective, the Red Army was slashing south-eastward with irresistible power, crushing the pride of Nipponese military might, the Kwantung Army of Manchuria. Into Manchuria, down Sakhalin, the Soviet forces sped, at 80, 90, and then 100 miles a day, aiming to isolate Manchuria and then Korea. In rapid thrusts from Outer Mongolia and Trans-Baikal, the Red Armies burst into the heart of Manchuria and the Khingan Range, capturing the important bases of Hailar and Harbin, key cities of central Manchuria. Swift mobile forces sliced across the Gobi desert to the south, toward the southern tip of the land of the Manchus.

On Friday, August 10, Japan offered to surrender if the Emperor's prerogatives were not prejudiced. Russia had already bared two earlier offers of Japan to surrender, both rejecting unconditional surrender—the first refused by neutral Russia as too general; the second to consist of a Japanese delegation to the Potsdam Conference, which was vetoed by the falling of the first atomic bomb. The United States, on behalf of the Allies, accepted this Japanese offer of the 10th, providing the Emperor and his government would be subject to the direction of the Allied Supreme Commander.

On August 14, after four days of delay had caused worldwide fears of further Japanese treachery, Japan accepted the terms. The Japanese Domei news agency phrased the surrender thus:

In obedience to the gracious command of His Majesty the Emperor, who, ever anxious to enhance the cause of world peace, desires earnestly to bring about an early termination of hostilities with a view of saving mankind from the calamities to be imposed upon them by further continuation of the war,

Japan had accepted the Potsdam terms of the Big Three, Truman, Stalin and Churchill. To slice through this verbiage

to the truth, Japan surrendered to prevent the annihilation, city by city, of all Japan; and, to the end, lyingly pretended that the peace-loving Japanese Emperor had condescended to grant peace to the Allies.

The arrival of the Japanese peace envoys on board the immense U. S. S. *Missouri* was guarded like the arrivals of gangster leaders to surrender to a Chief of Police—all to prevent last minute treachery. On September 2, the official V-J Day, the surrender was signed, with all treachery scotched. General Wainwright, surrendering hero of Corregidor, and the remaining surviving American prisoners of war held by the Japanese, were released; and Wainwright was at once promoted, and received the surrender beside General MacArthur.

The first World War of the century had cost the Allies 117 billions, and the Central Powers 60 billion dollars more. World War II cost the Allies 583 billion dollars, of which the United States spent 317 billions; Russia, 192 billions; and the United Kingdom 120. It had cost the Axis 469 billions more, of which Germany spent 273 billions; Italy, 94 billions; and Japan 56 billions. Allied casualty estimates vary from 15 million men to 30 million; Axis casualties, from 10 million to 23 million.

It is an axiom in American politics that the best generals make the worst peacetime executives. The tasks confronting Eisenhower and MacArthur were still, of course, at least half military. MacArthur started by announcing that he would need only 300,000 men, certainly not more than 400,000, for the occupation and policing of all Japan and her occupied territories. Japan had kept 4,000,000 men overseas for that purpose alone; policing 255,000,000 people, many of them hostile and vengeful, with only 400,000 troops, shocked American common sense. MacArthur's an-

nouncement that liberated Korea would be ruled by their Japanese oppressors until an American military government could be organized embittered the Koreans, who had hated the Japanese for years. MacArthur regained face thoroughly when Emperor Hirohito paid a visit to the American Commander-in-Chief at his headquarters, establishing to the Japanese that the old order had forever ended, and a New Order was upon the world.

CHAPTER XLV

POST-WAR DEVELOPMENTS

RESULTS OF THE WAR

THE six years of desperate global fighting did not end in a stalemate, with the face of the world pitted with the same armed camps it had held in 1939—Germany, Italy, Japan, England, France, Russia, and the rest. There were several major results, whose sum total constitutes the tendency and dynamo of world history for the next few years. These included:

1. The abject defeats of Germany, Italy, and France, and the weakness and lack of offensive power displayed by Britain, left Soviet Russia the only great power in Europe.

2. The United States, which halved the credit for knocking out the Nazis, and which alone crushed the formidable menace of Japan, emerged as the greatest naval power in the world, and the only possible rival of Russia to being the greatest world power.

3. The war, intended as the climax of the long effort to destroy Russian Communism, resulted in the complete collapse of the hijacking totalitarian powers. Instead of annihilating Communism, it left Communism a proved success on the battlefield, and enormously influential in eastern Europe, the Near East, Asia, France, prostrate Germany and Italy, and elsewhere.

4. In accordance with the Atlantic Charter and the later Conferences among the world leaders against fascism, a

United Nations (UN) was constructed, aimed to prevent future wars.

5. The invention and use of the atomic bomb meant that mankind had entered the Atomic Age, equipped with man-made weapons that could easily destroy and annihilate human culture, unless a wisdom equal to that required for its creation was used for its control.

6. Most important of all, perhaps: the principle of the trial of war criminals, including military personnel, rulers, and industrialists, added to international law the menacing provision that the rulers, industrialists and military personnel of any nation might at any future time be tried and executed as war criminals, for any warfare that they initiated and directed.

THE UN—THE UNITED NATIONS

The Charter of the United Nations was drafted and adopted at a conference held in San Francisco, California, between April 25 and June 26, 1945. The German surrender occurred 12 days after the conference opened; the battle of Okinawa was won just before the conference ended its tense sessions. The Charter embodied the dreams of Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin, and the policies of the successors of two of these, President Truman and Prime Minister Clement Attlee, the Labor Party prime minister who came into power when the first post-war general election in England resulted in the defeat of the Churchill government. Roosevelt and the others told the world persuasively that the UN would be an implemented plan whereby the age-old system of war could be abolished from the earth—an international charter and organization intended to guarantee forever the collective security of the nations of the world. Roosevelt's posthumous Jefferson Day Address included these words:

We seek peace—enduring peace. More than an end to

war, we want an end to the beginnings of all wars—yes, an end to this brutal, inhuman, and thoroughly impractical method of settling the differences between governments by the mass killings of peoples. . . . Today as we move against the terrible scourge of war—as we go forward toward the greatest contribution that any generation of human beings can make in this world—the contribution of lasting peace.

It is fair to make every effort to visualize the UN as at least the first step in this direction. The Preamble of the Charter pledges the member nations to outlaw war, and is dedicated to “fundamental human rights, . . . the dignity and worth of the human person, . . . the equal right of men and women and of nations large and small,” peace, and a good neighbor policy. The legislative branch of the United Nations consists primarily of a General Assembly, composed of all the members of the United Nations, each nation having one vote. It will hold annual meetings. A Security Council of 11 members is to “function continuously.” It is composed of the United States, the United Kingdom, the U. S. S. R., China, France, and six non-permanent members, elected for a term of two years. The Security Council is given primary responsibility for “the maintenance of international peace and security.” There is elaborate machinery provided for dealing with threats to the peace, especially instances of downright aggression. Non-self-governing territories are to be educated upward toward arriving at self-government, and ample provision is made for territories which are placed under the trusteeship of the UN. The organization includes also an International Court of Justice and a Secretary General and his staff.

One chief criticism aimed at this structure is that no provision is made for an international armed force; but, instead, the UN is merely empowered to call upon member

nations for armed national forces. The other major criticism deals with the so-called veto power given to the members of the Big Five, in Article 27, Section 3: requiring, in all non-procedural matters, "the concurring votes of the permanent members" of the Security Council. The *New York Times* pointed out, June 24, 1945, that the UN furnished no way by which the Big Five could be bound to settle any disputes by peaceful measures; and that there would not even be an investigation of any claimed act of aggression unless the Big Five voted unanimously for it. This matter is being tested out in actual disputes before the Security Council involving certain members of the Big Five; and, if the criticism turns out to be well taken, no doubt the Charter will be amended in this regard. As Anthony Eden worded the criticism before the British House of Commons,

In the light of discoveries about atomic energy, the veto in the San Francisco Charter is an anachronism in the modern world.

Even before the atomic bomb fell on Hiroshima, Air Marshal Wilson of Canada had pointed out that, with Superfortresses and jet-propelled planes capable of striking suddenly half a world away, there could be no international peace without a supernational control of all air forces. Thirty distinguished Americans, led by former Associate Justice Owen J. Roberts of the United States Supreme Court, on October 16, 1945, demanded the substitution of a world federation for the UN. Spokesmen for Great Britain and Canada have proposed a surrender of a portion of British sovereignty to a directly elected world assembly, founded on a code of world law with

a world judiciary to interpret it, and a world police to enforce it.

The Foreign Ministers of the Big Five, functioning under the UN, met first in London but were unable to come to an agreement on a number of disputed questions. Among these

was the disposition of the former Italian colonial empire. Leading world powers were especially perturbed at the emphatic Russian claim for the port of Massawa, in Eritrea on the Red Sea, coupled with a bid for a Russian mandate over all Libya; with Egyptian counterclaims for Eritrea, and Egyptian and French bids for Libya. Russia criticized the British participation in the affairs of Greece. England and the United States demanded a release of Russian dominance over Hungary, Romania and Bulgaria.

Russia, who had entered the war against Japan only at the last minute, demanded that the Soviet power, Great Britain, China, Australia and the other Allies should join in the administration of Japan, instead of leaving this a United State monopoly. Russia demanded participation in the knowledge and control of the atomic bomb, now monopolized by the United States, Great Britain and Canada. It became increasingly clear that American efforts to nationalize German railroads, postal facilities and the like, under a democratized Germany, were being sabotaged by another of the Big Five, France. The General Assembly met for the second time on Long Island in October, 1946. In December it accepted a Rockefeller gift of \$8,500,000 for a site on Manhattan for UN's permanent headquarters.

WARFARE DURING THE PEACE

It is unnecessary to go into great detail as to the various instances of sporadic warfare throughout the globe during the formative months when the UN was getting geared for action. Even before the war ended, British tanks and planes had suppressed leftist participation in the Greek government—an activity that played a part in the fall of the Churchill ministry.

On May 23, shortly after V-E Day, French military forces landed in Syria, a country with UN membership, in an effort to restore this sovereign state to the status of a

French colony. A regiment of French-officered Senegalese and one of Zouaves landed at Beirut, moving against Lebanon, another member of the UN, as well. Damascus, the capital, was bombarded on May 29. The first casualty list was 450 killed and 1,500 wounded. The government of Great Britain sent tanks to terminate the warfare; and the British remained, to police the two republics.

In India, clashes between Hindus and Moslems increased in bloody intensity. The underlying cause of the uprising was a native protest against British trials of pro-Japanese members of the National Army of India, on the ground that they were war criminals.

In Palestine, the "Stern Gang" of terrorists and the larger National Military Organization (Irgun Zevai Leumi) are charged with stirring up revolt against Great Britain, which, in 1917, by the Balfour Declaration, promised a "national home for the Jewish people" in Palestine—a promise confirmed by the United States Congress, and incorporated in the League of Nations mandate. In 1939, Great Britain, by Neville Chamberlain's White Paper, closed Palestine to Jewish immigration. The Zionists seek Jewish nationhood peaceably; the terrorists, by force.

On the one hand, the Jews, Hitler's major victims, with more than 6,000,000 of their number murdered and massacred in Europe, see in Palestine their natural homeland, as promised by Great Britain. On the other hand, the Arabs, who trace their title back to the Moslem invasions, claim that Britain has no right to give away their land. Roosevelt, desiring free access to Arabian oil resources—Saudi Arabia being an exclusive United States oil sphere—did not discourage Arab aspirations. The seven members of the Arabian League—Egypt, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Lebanon, Yemen, Transjordan and Syria—on December 4, 1945, announced a boycott against all goods of Palestinian Jews, and that

they would "take all other measures to oppose the establishment of a Zionist nation there."

Jews began to be smuggled into Palestine, contrary to the British prohibition. British troops and policemen were systematically attacked and assassinated. British paratroopers enforced a curfew, with "punishment by death" for violating it. Tear-gas, tanks, machine guns and mortars were used against the terrorists. President Truman announced that this country accepted joint responsibility with Great Britain over the land. A joint report, in the spring of 1946, announced that Palestine would neither be made a Jewish nation, nor an Arab nation; but that 100,000 Jewish immigrants should be admitted in the near future. This solution so far has satisfied no one.

The moment the Japanese menace was removed, civil war on a large scale broke out between the forces of Chiang Kai-shek, who is powerfully backed by the wealthy Chinese industrialists, and the Chinese Red Army, a movement more agrarian than genuinely communistic. Japanese troops were reported as fighting on both sides. In the four months after the unconditional surrender of Japan, more than 80,000 Chinese were killed and wounded on both sides in this civil warfare. The United States made every effort to unite the warring factions, so far without success.

Soviet troops, toward the end of the war, occupied the northwest province of Iran, which has the same name, Azerbaijan, as the Soviet Republic containing the Baku oil-fields lying just beyond the Soviet Republic of Armenia on the Iranian border. The Russian troops had moved in to protect Iranian oil from the Axis, and the U. S. S. R. had pledged that its troops would be moved out by March 2, 1946. In the preceding November, a National Congress of the province demanded autonomy from the Iranian government. This Congress represented the Tudeh (Peoples Masses) party, and was in close touch with the Soviet Union.

When the United States received information that the Soviet troops had prevented Iranian forces from suppressing the movement for autonomy, it proposed that the 6,000 American, 100,000 British and 100,000 Russian troops in Iran be withdrawn by January 1. Iran is a point of world friction, because only here and in northern India do British and Russian territories and spheres of influence directly touch. Azerbaijan Separatist troops overran the country for 50 miles toward Tehran, and captured the Iranian officials in Azerbaijan; while Soviet Russia threatened Iran with bloodshed, if Iranian reinforcements were sent into the restive province. In spite of opposition on the part of the U. S. S. R., the matter was brought before the Security Council of the UN, the Russian delegation absenting itself from certain meetings at which the Azerbaijan problem was discussed. By May, 1946, the U. S. S. R. claimed that it had withdrawn entirely from the province.

Since the meetings of the Security Council of the UN are open to the public, and the deliberations are carried throughout the world by radio and newsreel, the immense value of the proceedings, as political education for the world, cannot be exaggerated. Here, in a tense international situation involving problems of such significance that, under other conditions, war might immediately follow, every person on earth has the opportunity to hear and see the selected nations of the Security Council receive the evidence, deliberate as a world parliament, and come to a decision to settle the matter without bloodshed. If the nation found at fault refuses to obey the UN's decree, that global organization is pledged to enforce its decrees, with whatever armed police activity is required. The sanity of implemented world government is replacing the insanity of war, even as we watch and listen.

TRIAL FOR WAR CRIMINALS AND WAR MAKERS

A forward step was taken in international law when the Allies determined that, since aggressive war is a crime against mankind, war-makers and other war-criminals were to be tried criminally for their acts, and punished if found guilty. Lord Geoffrey Lawrence, the distinguished British jurist who presided over the Nuernberg trials of the chief Nazi leaders, announced to the score of defendants:

This trial, which is about to begin, is unique in the history of jurisprudence and is important to people all over the world.

International law, it must be remembered, is not *enacted*, since in the past there has been no empowered international legislative body. It comes from precedents of trials, treaties, charters, compacts, and agreements. In trying Germans, Japanese and others for war crimes, the judges and participating governments were aware that they were setting a precedent which would apply to all countries, in the future, whenever nationals of any country instigated wars and war-crimes.

Lord Lawrence insisted that:

an aggressor nation commits a crime which is triable under international law—

especially after the Kellogg-Briand pacts, to which the nations of the world agreed. From this it follows inevitably that individuals who officially lead a nation into such a war, and who in the course of the war order or are party to infamies, must be held criminally accountable. So civilization advances in the short space of half a century; for as late as 1900, the trial of the instigators of an aggressive war before an international court was unheard of. Americans may well take pride in the fact that the logic and imagination which made the trial of the war criminals possible was largely that of an American, Justice Robert H. Jackson of the United States

Supreme Court, the American chief prosecutor at Nuernberg.

The first trials were of German underlings guilty of the atrocities in the dreadful Polish and other extermination camps, and individual killings of American and other Allied nationals. These resulted, in most cases, in convictions and executions. Quisling, the Norwegian fifth column traitor, was convicted and executed, and so was Laval, his French equivalent.

On November 18, 1945, the 24 top Nazis were indicted for plotting against world peace, for war atrocities and crimes against humanity. These included three Deputy Fuehrers, Goering, Hess, and Bormann; such Cabinet members as Von Ribbentrop, Frick, Speer, and Funk; Field Marshal Keitel and Colonel General Jodl, of the General Staff; Grand Admirals Raeder and Doenitz, the latter Hitler's successor; Gustav Krupp Von Bohlen und Halbach, armament manufacturer; Schacht, former President of the Reichsbank; Von Papen the diplomat; Seyss-Inquart, Frank and Von Neurath, overlords of conquered lands; Rosenberg, fountainhead of the poisonous Nazi racial theories, as well as Sauckel, Kaltenbrunner, Von Schirach and Fritzsche.

The judges were Lord Justice Lawrence, for Great Britain; former Attorney General Francis Biddle, for the United States; Major General I. T. Nikitchenko, for Russia, and Henri Donnedieu de Vabres, for France. Justice Jackson, of the United States Supreme Court, led the prosecutors. The proceedings were held in four languages, with many interpreters. The indictments, and the prosecution's case, covered the whole "conspiracy" of the Nazi party in its rise to power over Fortress Europe; the violation of the Kellogg-Briand Pacts; and the individual crimes which make up the history of the war from the Axis point of view. The senility of the elder Krupp caused an effort on the part of the United States to have his son, Alfred Krupp, substituted as a defendant, in order to bring home the responsibility to the

vast armament industry, as a symbol of industrialist instigation to aggressive warfare. It was decided that the younger Krupp would be tried later. Robert Ley, Labor Front leader, was also charged but committed suicide.

The decisions in the all-important trial were handed down on September 30 and October 1, 1946. Of the 21 Nazis who actually faced trial at Nuernberg, only three—Schacht, Von Papen and Fritzsche—were acquitted. Goering, Von Ribbentrop, Von Keitel, Kaltenbrunner, Rosenberg, Frank, Frick, Streicher, Sauckel, Jodl, Seyss-Inquart and the missing Bormann were sentenced to be hanged. Hess, Funk and Raeder were given life imprisonment; Von Schirach and Speer were given 20 years in prison; Von Neurath got 15 years and Doenitz 10 years. The death sentences were carried out on October 16—save that the wiley Goering cheated the gallows by taking poison.

While this trial was still in progress, British security police, on December 1, arrested throughout the Ruhr 76 German industrialists, "leading members of the most dangerous class in Germany," including the czars of Germany's billion-dollar steel and iron industry, in order to try the guilty among these for conspiracy or atrocities as war criminals.

In Japan, General MacArthur personally expedited the trial of Lieutenant General Tomoyuki Yamashita, held accountable for the cruelties to prisoners in the Philippines. Ex-Premier Hideki Tojo and other top Japanese war criminals were arrested, to be held for trial. On December 2, MacArthur ordered the arrest of 59 prominent Japanese, including members of the Imperial household and Japan's industrial-financial hierarchy. Among these were 71-year-old Prince Morimasa Nashimoto; two ex-premiers, bringing the number held to four; political leaders, generals, admirals, newspaper executives, presidents of vast industries, bankers,

and cabinet members: all to be added to the 259 suspects already in custody.

Such trials, of the actual war-makers and war criminals, have definitely moved mankind forward on the road to lasting peace.

THE FUTURE OF ATOMIC POWER

The importance of harnessing atomic energy was phrased by General George C. Marshall, Chief of Staff of the United States Army—quoting General Henry H. Arnold, Commanding General of the Army Air Forces, in the last two sentences:

This discovery of American scientists can be man's greatest benefit. And it can destroy him. . . . Many Americans do not yet understand the full implication of the formless rubble of Berlin and of the cities of Japan. With the continued development of technique now known to us, the cities of New York, Pittsburgh, Detroit, Chicago or San Francisco may be subject to annihilation from other continents in a matter of hours.

Marshall's recommendation, based upon this, is:

It is against the latter terrible possibility (that atomic power can destroy mankind) that this nation must prepare or perish. . . . The only effective defense a nation can now maintain is the power of attack.

If all the powers similarly prepare, with similar lethal weapons, there is the danger of mutual nation-annihilation.

Senator Edwin C. Johnson of Colorado saw the coming of the atomic age thus:

Almighty God, in his infinite wisdom, dropped the atomic bomb in our lap.

Whether the origin be seen as divine or human, there is general agreement on the need for sane planning to control this enormous destructiveness and to turn the released atomic energy into peacetime industrial uses. Major General L. R.

Groves, who directed the development of the atomic bomb, urges the accumulation by the United States of a stockpile of sufficient bombs, presumably to permit us (by the defense weapon of attack) to destroy any nation that attacks us. President Truman announced on November 20, 1946, that the United States was still manufacturing atomic bombs "for experimental purposes"; and that the United States, Great Britain and Canada, who now monopolize the precise method of construction, are trying to implement the atomic program for peacetime purposes. It is proposed to turn the secret over to the UN, as soon as this can be done with the maximum of safety to us. The new elements have been reported as already denatured for industrial use. Tests of the atomic bomb against naval forces took place at Bikini Atoll in the remote Pacific on June 30 and July 24, 1946, with scientists from many nations on hand to study the result.

General Arnold, foreseeing the possibility of a robot plane attack on the United States, advised that we should disperse our cities and industries underground. The Medical Branch of the United States Strategic Bombing Survey recommended that air raid hospitals and institutions for the sick and wounded be constructed underground, and that cities be decentralized and dispersed. General Arnold foresaw space ships, moving outside the earth's atmosphere, which will unquestionably be brought into being within the foreseeable future,

capable of launching atomic bomb rockets at 3,000 miles an hour, at any enemy on any spot on earth. Scientists point out that the released atomic energy can easily overcome the force of gravity, and permit rockets to the moon and interplanetary traffic. Radar contact with the moon was achieved early in 1946.

General Arnold made our position in the world race for deadlier armament clear :

We will produce within the next few years jet-propelled bombers capable of flying 500 to 600 miles an hour at targets 1,500 miles away at altitudes of over 40,000 feet. Development of even greater bombers, at speeds faster than sound, (with) bomb loads of more than 100,000 pounds, is a certainty . . . (with) sufficient range to attack any spot on earth and return to a friendly base. . . . Air engineers have blue-printed a bomb weighing 10,000 pounds.

He went on to describe robot rockets, directed by electronic devices, accurately guided to sources of heat, light and magnetism. Counter radar measures, using aluminum foil to make radar targets indistinguishable, have already been devised—permitting undetected attack against any city in the world.

Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, head of the Los Alamos branch of our atomic bomb development, stated before the United States Senate that one raid on United States cities could kill 40,000,000 Americans. He continued:

The advent of atomic weapons has perhaps weakened the general military position of the United States, because we are a concentrated and highly industrialized nation. Atomic weapons 10 to 20 years from now will be very cheap.

He pointed out that the bomb was a detour from the important human problem of controlled atomic energy, which human science should at once turn to. He ended:

There is the deadliest danger for all mankind in an atomic armament race; there is the greatest common need there has never been for all nations to collaborate in an effective prevention of war. . . . If we are wise, it is a force we can apply to forge the peoples of the earth into closer unity.

Other scientists pointed out that atomic energy for industrial uses could be available within the next decade, if military

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restrictions or government control did not veto such peacetime development.

Meanwhile, the American armed forces destroyed a cyclotron in Japan—which was likened to Hitler's burning of books by Marx, Einstein, Freud and other non-Nordics. At the same time, scientists at the University of California discovered or created elements 95 and 96; a jet-propelled automobile was invented in London; an atomic-powered car was reported from the same city. We are in the midst of the dawning of the Atomic Age, the Buck Rogers Age come to reality. To repeat General Marshall's summary,

This discovery . . . can be man's greatest benefit. And it can destroy him.

A properly empowered and functioning UN can preserve international peace and security, to prevent the alternative, the destruction of human culture as we know it.

THE HOME FRONT AFTER THE WAR

President Truman, during 1945, slowly relaxed his grip on legislation, due to a growing spirit of independence in both Houses of Congress. The enormous peacetime problems for a time seemed too complicated for him to cope with. Foremost among these was the growing tension in the United States between labor and capital—a local symptom of a worldwide condition.

In Australia, the gold-mining industry was threatened with a complete tie-up from strikes. In England, the Labor Government, which had overturned the Churchill coalition in the first General Election after the war, continued Churchill's international policy unchanged, in spite of Attlee's promise to remove immediately such European "plague-spots" as the Franco dictatorship in Spain. The Labor government proceeded to take steps to nationalize the electric and gas industries, the long distance truck service, the canals, and the Bank of England. Agriculture was put under a com-

pulsory planning from above, in return for guaranteed prices and markets, on penalty of being dispossessed of the land—until all agriculture was to answer national interests and needs, instead of being at the whims of individual landowners. Mark Sullivan pointed out that the nationalization of all industries in Britain, sooner rather than later, was almost certain, since private industry could not compete with government industry.

Even in peace times, the New Deal had to stimulate and subsidize many fields of production. With the entry of the United States into World War II, the whole country was placed upon a footing of planned economy of all production, and rationed as to distribution. With the ending of the war, the alternatives were a continuation of this planned economy or its immediate or gradual elimination. Every effort was made to prevent an inflation that might lead to a depression worse than that commencing in 1929.

Typical signs of the trend were visible on all sides. The United States, which had been in the sugar business "hook, line and sinker," announced to the American Sugar Cane League that it desired to withdraw completely. The representatives of the oil industry asked the government to get out of business of operating the refineries, pipelines and other federally owned oil facilities. They proposed that the costs of the Big Inch and Little Inch pipelines and the rest should be charged off to the expense of conducting the war, pointing out that—

Free enterprise cannot endure, with government as a competitor.

Legal efforts were made to prevent the government from selling its merchant marine ships and lines. Gradual cancellation of the federal food subsidies were reflected in rising grocery bills. President Truman announced a "hold the price line!" policy, to prevent inflation. At the same time, steps were taken to lead the government out of business and the

complete control of business, so as to permit an increased play of private enterprise. The retention of ceiling prices on certain commodities resulted in wide scarcities of important products, including nylon stockings, meats, men's clothing, and various cereals. Certain of these were held back from the American markets, or sold abroad in localities without ceiling prices.

Secretary of Commerce Wallace announced that labor could receive a 15% wage increase up and down the line, and capital still show a satisfactory profit, above war profits, for the next five to 10 years. The government indicated a preference for a straight 15% straight time wage raise. Labor, encouraged by this attitude and stressing the profits heaped up by even the most patriotic industries on a cost-plus basis during the war, began to demand, as a minimum, not a 15% wage raise but at least 30%. Such demands, often contrary to wage contracts, when refused, resulted in widespread strikes in many of our key industries. President Truman was only one of many who pointed out that the resultant delay in production had reached a point where it menaced the intended reconversion from a wartime to a peacetime basis, and indeed menaced the whole economic situation. An uninterrupted reconversion might mean a continuation of prosperity, with products of all kinds available for the first time since 1941; whereas, a reconversion slowed down or halted completely by strikes must lead toward continued scarcity, staggeringly high prices and inflation, unemployment, and in the end a nation-wide depression.

This brings us up against the astonishing paradox that war does not diminish the population, in spite of the casualty lists; but increases it. Between 1940 and 1945, the years of the Second World War, our population increased 7,000,000. An increase of another 6,500,000 is expected in the next five years. Since Pearl Harbor, there have been 11,000,000 births; and the rate is apparently increasing in the post-war

period. A scarcity of goods, caused by strikes and unacceptable ceiling prices, must inevitably cause a sharp price rise; this in turn calls for upward spiralling wages; and suddenly, the country finds itself in the midst of wild inflation, the usual prelude to economic depression.

The menacing strikes were dismissed casually, at first, by the President: "Let capital and labor stop acting like children, sit down, agree, and go back to work." To implement this, the President called a Labor-Management Parley in Washington. The unions, fully aware that their gross income during 1943 had been \$390,000,000, insisted that higher wages would not increase prices, since capital had been receiving hidden profits during the whole war period. The industries denied this in toto. The Labor-Management Parley adjourned in a deadlock, having made no progress in setting up a machinery to handle postwar labor disputes. All proposals submitted by either side were rejected by the other side, voting as a bloc.

Labor pointed out that General Motors and United States Steel, for instance, had entirely refused collective bargaining. Capital called for increased production first of all, and announced that labor would get nothing by collective demands. At this, the parley adjourned, and the strikes increased. No provision for increased wages and prices to the vast farming industries was considered, although these sinew the whole culture.

Faced with the huge General Motors strike, the President offered to appoint a three-man fact-finding board; asked the strikers to return to their jobs immediately, and the steelworkers to abandon their proposed strike; and asked Congress for speedy legislation to stop strikes. Labor promptly branded this proposed remedy as anti-labor throughout. A number of bills were introduced in Congress toward carrying out the President's recommendation. The General Motors strike was finally settled. It was succeeded by a strike of

bituminous coal miners, led by John L. Lewis, who had founded the C. I. O., retired from it, and had rejoined the A. F. of L. This strike caused such wide brown-outs and cessation of industry that it was described by Truman as a national emergency. On May 11, 1946, a two-weeks truce was announced, with the miners to return to work for that period. The strike ended on May 29, when the government seized the mines and signed a new contract with the union.

While the United States, which had not suffered materially from such invasions and bombings as had devastated so much of the rest of the world, engaged in strikes that threatened to paralyze the production line entirely, much of the ravaged rest of the world tightened its belt, and stared with glassy eyes at the prospect of oncoming winter with insufficient food, insufficient clothing, insufficient heat, and insufficient housing. In ravaged eastern Europe, the coffins of the victims of starvation and untended diseases had to be wheeled on rickety handcarts to public burial grounds—the lids, for want of nails to hold them down, at times jolting aside to reveal the pitiful shrouded forms within. From such conditions, epidemics come: war influenza, even the bubonic plague. As spring of 1946 altered into summer, Fiorello La Guardia, who succeeded ex-Governor Herbert H. Lehman as director of the UNRRA (United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration), made every effort to arouse the conscience of America to the threat of death by starvation that hung over much of Europe and the Far East, unless the United States made superhuman efforts to provide the needed food-stuffs.

The total number of Europe's homeless may far exceed 50,000,000. There are 25,000,000 homeless in Russia alone; a provident government here is making every effort to remedy this condition as speedily as is possible. In Poland, more than 1,000,000 people—a twentieth of the population—are living

in holes in the ground, actual dugouts. Relief agencies are coping with this and kindred problems throughout the world, with the United States taking a leading share in the work.

On August 29, 1945, President Truman released the findings of the Army and Navy inquiry boards dealing with the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. The reports revealed the shocking unpreparedness, confusion and lack of co-operation between the branches of the service. The Navy report found "no serious offenses committed nor serious blame occurred;" the army report included in its censure Lieutenant General Walter C. Short and Admiral Husband Kimmel, the two commanders at Hawaii; Major General Gerow, former Chief of the War Plans Division; Admiral Stark, Chief of Naval Operations; General Marshall, Army Chief of Staff; and Secretary of State Cordell Hull. President Truman and Secretary of War Stimson at once defended General Marshall. In September, a joint Congressional Committee was appointed to investigate Pearl Harbor further. Its many sessions brought out much sensational testimony, some of it contradictory. No final findings upon the ultimate responsibility for our unpreparedness have yet been made.

CULTURE IN THE ATOMIC AGE

American art became part of the war effort, insofar as it could be used for effective propaganda. The death of Grant Wood and John Steuart Curry removed two of our leading figures in the graphic arts. Photography increasingly earned the status of one of the fine arts. Such a photograph as *The Raising of the Flag on Iwo Jima* became world famous, and was used as a design on a United States commemorative stamp.

Music, on the whole, was in transitional doldrums. Ferde Grofe's *Grand Canyon Suite* and even more experimental music by others were notable products; although George Gershwin's *Rhapsody in Blue* remained the outstanding ex-

ample of successful American music. In a lighter field, Richard Rodgers' and Oscar Hammerstein 2nd's *Oklahoma!* was ranked as the finest American comedy with music. The deaths of Gershwin and Jerome Kern removed two significant figures from American music.

Architecture, and with it interior decorating, continued to be experimental, with the emphasis primarily on function rather than mere decoration. Projects for slum-replacement by planned low-priced and low-rental developments, many of them federal projects, spread throughout the country. A comprehensive highways and parkways system began to lift the face of the whole land, largely inspired and aided by the government's need of such superhighways as Germany had developed, to expedite the movements of troops. These are invaluable peacetime acquisitions as well.

There was the expected escape literature—a flight from depressing reality either into the past or into a world of fantasy. The most outstanding example was the long historical novel, *Gone with the Wind*, by Margaret Mitchell, which brought the Civil War vividly back to life. Few of its successors had outstanding literary importance.

The outstanding play of the era, with an all-time record for successive Broadway performances extending over eight years, was Jack Kirkland's *Tobacco Road*, based upon Erskine Caldwell's realistic novel of Southern tenant-farmer life, keyed upon a passionate love of the soil. Best selling fiction midway of the period returned to realism: John Steinbeck's *The Grapes of Wrath*, a stark picture of the fate of Dust Bowl emigres to California; and Ernest Hemingway's *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, a powerful saga of the crackup of Loyalist Spain under the sledgehammer blows of the fascist forces. The movies furnished the delightful escape films of the Walt Disney Studios, especially *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* and *Pinocchio*; screen versions of the novels

listed; and fictionized biographical studies of Pasteur, Chopin, Gershwin, George M. Cohan, and others.

Since 1900, the civilized world has twice been clawed bloodily apart; in World War II, this being climaxed by the release of atomic energy, a force vast beyond ordinary calculation. This has at last made war too dangerous for anything but the best combined wisdom of mankind to cope with. The answer to this effort can be furnished only by the years to come. Great tidal waves of human effort have swept across national boundaries to girdle the globe. The chief movements of the present half century have been the international scramble to monopolize the world's markets and sources of raw materials; the fascist effort, to hijack these; and the worldwide demand of labor for more of its product. The first and third of these waves have not reached floodtide yet; only the hijacking thrust has been ended. Underneath these great basic movements, the still more basic rhythms of life have gone on: seedtime and harvest, mating and childbirth, harnessing nature and making the globe a fitter home for man.

In all these efforts, the United States has made, so far, a record no nation has excelled. The little Republic formed by the thirteen seaboard colonies in 1776 has stood, for almost two centuries, in the eyes of the whole world as the symbol of hope and promise, of freedom and democracy. The Statue of Liberty has grown, by American effort, perseverance, and efficiency, from a magnificent symbol into an actual liberty-bringer to even the most backward peoples of earth. In the councils of mankind, the American voice has been less selfish and more practically idealistic than the voice of any people on earth. Continent-wide, walled by the oceans, stretching from the polar floes to the subtropics, this melting-pot of the nations has become the strongest power on earth; and the American character and the American dream are insurance that that world-steadying power will be used like a good neighbor, not like an oppressor. Even the rip and frenzy of

the American Civil War served only to knit the national fabric tighter, and increase the amount of human liberty. We have divided counsels still; but, as a people, we can stand tall and confident that the rip and frenzy of their conflicts will, in the end, serve only to knit the national fabric tighter, and increase the amount of human liberty. This survey of American history down to the present can close on no more appropriate note than that the quiet statement, "I am an American," is a badge of honor among men.

APPENDIX

BIBLIOGRAPHY

FOR readers interested in the whole field of United States history, the first recommendation is to go to the source materials, as far as possible. For expanded histories covering the period down to their time of publication, the following are especially valuable:

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JAMES SCHOULER, *History of the United States* (7 volumes).

EDWARD CHANNING, *History of the United States* (6 volumes).

WOODROW WILSON, *History of the American People*

JAMES FORD RHODES, *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850* (7 volumes).

Among important compilations by various authors, dealing with most of the specialized problems during the whole period of United States history, the following are especially recommended:

The Chronicles of America, in 50 volumes; published by the YALE UNIVERSITY PRESS. Edited by ALLEN JOHNSON.

The American Nation, in 28 volumes, edited by A. B. HART.

The Riverside History of the United States, in 4 volumes, edited by W. E. DODD.

For general source materials, the Congressional Record and publications by Congress, the Executive Departments of the United States, and the various states, are invaluable. The Messages and Papers of the Presidents edited down

to 1899 by J. D. Richardson, is also invaluable. Other important collections of source materials include:

Original Narratives of Early American History, in 18 volumes. Edited by J. FRANKLIN JAMESON.

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A Documentary Source Book of American History. Edited by WILLIAM MACDONALD.

For especial material relating to the various periods:

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UNITED STATES HISTORY AT A GLANCE

A Chronology of the Most Important Happenings in United States History

YEAR

Unknown—Successive waves of immigration from Asia, over Bering Straits and by sea, peopled the Americas.

A.D.

6th Century—The Toltecs moved down from the North into Mexico.

Before 1000—Recorded voyages by Arabians, Irishmen, Welshmen, Chinese, Japanese and Frenchmen to America.

1000—Leif Ericsson landed in Vinland (Labrador, Newfoundland and Nova Scotia; or Rhode Island; or Massachusetts).

1003—An Iclander, Thorfinn Karlsefni, settled for 3 years in Vinland.

11th Century—The Toltecs largely perished, by drought, famine and pestilence. The remainder migrated into Yucatan and Guatemala.

12th Century—The Chichimecs spread over Mexico.

About 1230—The Incas, or "People of the Sun," settled the Cuzco Valley, Peru.

1325—The Aztecs moved to Mexico, founding Mexico City.

1426—Pachacutic Inca formed the Peruvian Empire.

1430—Mexican Empire consolidated under the Aztecs.

1453—The Ottoman Turks captured Constantinople, and soon closed the overland spice routes to the East. This

sent Europe looking for an overseas route to the spice islands.

1486—Bartholomeu Diaz, Portuguese, discovered the Cape of Good Hope, sailing toward the spice lands.

1492—Christopher Columbus, a Genoese sailing under the Spanish flag, discovered America: landing on Watling Island, in the Bahamas.

1493—Columbus discovered other West Indian islands, on his second voyage.

1497—Cabot, an Italian sailing under the English flag, discovered Labrador.

1498—Vasco da Gama, Portuguese, sailed southward and eastward around Africa to India.

—Third voyage of Columbus, in which South America was discovered.

1501—Amerigo Vespucci, a Florentine sailing for Portugal, explored Brazil. (America was named for him.)

1502—Fourth voyage of Columbus, to Central America.

1508—The Spaniards conquered and settled Puerto Rico and Cuba.

1513—Balboa discovered the Pacific Ocean. Ponce de Leon landed in Florida, in search of the Fountain of Youth.

1519-21—Hernando Cortez conquered Mexico.

1519-22—The expedition of Ferdinand Magellan, Portuguese, circumnavigated the globe.

1524—Giovanni Verrazano, sailing under the French flag, discovered New York.

1526—Huayna Capac, the Great Inca of Peru, died.

1529—Cabeza de Vaca travelled from Texas and Mexico to the Gulf of California.

1531-35—Pizarro conquered Peru.

1535—Pizarro founded Lima, Peru.

—Jacques Cartier sailed up the St. Lawrence River for France.

- 1539-42—Hernando de Soto travelled from the Gulf to the Mississippi River and died there.
- 1540-42—Coronado travelled northward from Texas, seeking the Seven Cities of Cibola.
- 1542—Las Casas complained of Spanish treatment of the Indians.
- 1565—St. Augustine, Florida, settled by the Spaniards—the oldest existing white settlement in North America.
- 1583—Sir Humphrey Gilbert's expedition to Newfoundland, which failed.
- 1584—Sir Walter Raleigh named the South Atlantic coastal regions Virginia, after the Virgin Queen, Elizabeth.
- 1585—Roanoke Island, North Carolina, settled by the English. This settlement lasted nine months, after which the settlers returned to England.
- 1586—Roanoke Island re-settled. No trace of any of these colonists has ever been found.
- 1602—Captain Bartholomew Gosnold, English, landed in Massachusetts.
- 1607—Virginia settled at Jamestown by King James's London Company, under the leadership of Captain John Smith. The Plymouth Company settled Maine. The colony lasted one year.
- 1608—Samuel de Champlain founded Quebec.
- 1609—De Champlain discovered Lake Champlain.
- Henry Hudson, an Englishman sailing under the Dutch flag, sailed up the Hudson River in the *Half Moon*.
- 1614—The Dutch planted a fort at Albany, New York.
- John Smith explored New England for the Plymouth Company.
- 1619—Wives and Negro slaves arrived in Virginia. The House of Burgesses was founded.
- 1620—The Pilgrim Fathers landed at Plymouth Rock.
- 1624—Virginia became a royal province.

1624—The Dutch permanently settled the site of New York.

1630—The Puritans settled Massachusetts Bay.

1634—Lord Baltimore settled Maryland, as a refuge for Catholics.

1636—Roger Williams, driven out of Massachusetts, settled Rhode Island.

—Connecticut settled by Puritans, who founded Hartford, Windsor, and Wethersfield.

—Harvard College established.

1638—New Haven settled by Puritans.

1638-47—Sweden made 6 settlements in Delaware and New Jersey.

1639—Connecticut drew up its "Fundamental Orders," the first constitution drawn up on American soil.

—Sir Ferdinando Gorges made proprietor of Maine.

1640—The *Bay Psalm Book* published, the first book in America.

1643—The New England Confederation established, excluding Rhode Island.

1649—Maryland issued its Religious Toleration Act.

1651—1st English Navigation Act against colonies, by Cromwell's parliament.

1655—The Dutch capture the Swedish settlements.

1656—Anne Hibbins hanged as a witch at Salem, Massachusetts.

1660—Virginia named "The Old Dominion."

1664—New Amsterdam surrendered to the English, under the Duke of York.

1670—North and South Carolina settled.

1673—Marquette and Joliet sail down the Mississippi to about Arkansas.

1675—Bacon's rebellion, in Virginia.

—King Philip's Indian War, in New England.

1682—William Penn settled Pennsylvania.

—De la Salle sails down the Mississippi to its mouth.

- 1688—1st Protest against slavery, at Germantown, Pennsylvania.
- 1689—New England, New York and New Jersey united into one royal province, under Sir Edmund Andros. He was ejected by the Glorious Revolution of 1689.
- 1691—Plymouth Colony united with Massachusetts.
- The first post-office in the United States was organized, under a royal patent granted to Thomas Neale.
- 1692—The witchcraft persecution in Salem, Massachusetts, in which 16 women and 5 men were hanged.
- 1693—William and Mary College established at Williamsburg, Virginia, the second college in America.
- 1701—Yale College founded at New Haven, Connecticut.
- 1712—Slave insurrection in New York City; 6 committed suicide; 21 were executed.
- 1713—Treaty of Utrecht signed.
- 1718—Bienville founded New Orleans.
- 1720—The Mississippi Bubble, John Law's gambling venture in colonial trading, exploded in England. Law fled to Italy.
- 1733—Georgia colonized by James Oglethorpe.
- 1734-35—Trial of Peter Zenger in New York for libel in his newspaper. His acquittal established freedom of the press in America.
- 1741—Negro slave plot to burn New York City; 13 were burned at the stake, 18 were hanged, 71 transported.
- 1754—Albany Conference seeking colonial union.
- 1754-63—French and Indian War in America.
- 1755—Braddock's defeat by the French and Indians, covered by the bravery of young George Washington.
- 1759—English General Wolfe captured Quebec; he and its French defender, Montcalm, dying in the battle.
- 1763—Peace of Paris marks the end of France's colonial empire.

1764—Frenville's laws, taxing the colonists, enacted in England.

1765—The Stamp Act passed by the English parliament.

1766—The Stamp Act repealed.

1767—The Townshend Acts against the colonies enacted.

1770—The Boston Massacre, in which British soldiers killed 3 colonial Americans.

1772—Citizens of Baltimore forced the captain of the *Peggy Stuart* to burn his boat and its cargo of tea, as a protest against the tax on tea.

1773—Disguised citizens of Massachusetts conducted the Boston Tea Party.

1774—First Continental Congress, in Philadelphia.

1775—The Revolutionary War commenced. Battles of Concord and Lexington (April 19th); Ticonderoga (May 10th); Bunker Hill (June 17th).

—Mecklenberg, N. C., Declaration of Independence, May 20th.

—Congress declared war formally against England, July 6th.

1776—Thomas Paine published his *Common Sense*, a powerful pamphlet defending the rights of the colonies.

—Battles of Long Island (Sept. 16th) and Trenton (Dec. 26th) fought.

—Richard Henry Lee of Virginia moved Independence in Congress (June 7th). The resolution was passed on July 2nd. The Declaration of Independence was adopted on July 4th.

—Nathan Hale executed as a spy on September 22nd, accused of having a hand in the burning of New York City the day before.

1777—Battles of Brandywine (Sept. 11th) and Saratoga (Sept. 19th–October 7th) fought.

—The Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union

were adopted by Congress; the last state to ratify, Maryland, did this in 1781.

1777-8—Washington's troops wintered at Valley Forge.

1778—Franklin negotiated a treaty with France, recognizing American independence.

—Battles of Monmouth (June 28th) and Savannah (December 29th) fought. Wyoming Valley Massacre (July 3rd). English campaign shifted to the south.

—George Rogers Clark explored the West.

1779—Second Battle of Savannah, October 8th.

1780—Battle of King's Mountain, Oct. 7th.

—Bank of Philadelphia, the first bank in the United States, chartered.

—Benedict Arnold tried to betray West Point to the British. Major André, British go-between, was captured and executed as a spy.

1781—Battles of Cowpens (Jan. 17th), Guilford Court House (March 15th), and Yorktown (Sept. 28th and October 19th). At this battle Lord Cornwallis surrendered to the American Army led by Washington and Lafayette, having the French fleet under Admiral de Grasse at his rear.

1782—Preliminary peace agreement signed with England on November 30th.

1783—Peace of Paris signed Sept. 3, 1783, ending the Revolutionary War.

—The Supreme Court of Massachusetts held slavery illegal, because of the words "all men are born free and equal" in the state's Bill of Rights.

1784—John Fitch operated his steamboat on the Delaware River.

1786-87—Daniel Shays' rebellion in Massachusetts, of the debtor class. The attempt to capture the arsenal at Springfield failed.

1786-87—Convention at Annapolis to discuss the commerce of the country.

1787—United States Constitution drawn up at 'Philadelphia.

—The Northwest Ordinance enacted, to govern the territories in the northwest ceded to the government by the states.

1788—The Constitution became the law of the land on June 21st, when the 9th state ratified it.

1789—First Presidential election held in February. George Washington inaugurated as President, April 30th.

1791—The Hamilton financial policies were adopted.

1792—Washington reëlected as President.

1793—Citizen Genet arrived as French minister, and his arrogance alienated Federalist opinion.

—Washington proclaimed neutrality in the war between republican France and England.

—Eli Whitney invented the cotton gin.

1794-95—Jay Treaty with England negotiated and ratified.

1796—John Adams, Federalist, elected as the 2nd President.

1798—The "X. Y. Z." affair in France.

—A state of war existed between the United States and France until 1800.

—The Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions passed.

1800—Thomas Jefferson, Republican (the name of the Democratic party then) elected as 3rd President.

1801—Peace treaty between Napoleon I of France and the United States.

—John Marshall appointed Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.

1802—The United States Military Academy at West Point was established.

1803—The Louisiana Purchase, by which we bought the Louisiana Territory from France for \$15,000,000.

1804—Jefferson reëlected as President.

—Aaron Burr, Vice-President of the United States, killed Alexander Hamilton, ex-Secretary of the Treasury, in a duel on the Palisades at Weehawken.

1806—Aaron Burr tried for treason, for his plan of western empire, and acquitted.

1806-07—Napoleon's Berlin and Milan Decrees, and England's Orders in Council, harmed American commerce.

1807—Robert Fulton's steamboat, the *Clermont*, steamed from New York to Albany.

—The British *Leopard* fired upon the American *Chesapeake*, killing 3 men and wounding 18. The *Chesapeake* surrendered.

—Congress enacted the Embargo Act against England.

1808—James Madison elected as the 4th President.

1809—The Embargo Act repealed, and a Non-Intercourse act enacted.

1810—Macon's Bill, providing that the Non-Intercourse Act should be revived against France or England, when the other withdrew its offensive orders.

1811—The American *President* forced the English *Little Belt* to surrender.

—William Henry Harrison defeated the Indians at Tippecanoe Creek.

—Earthquakes in the Mississippi River region south of the mouth of the Ohio destroyed small towns, and created Reelfoot Lake, 14 miles long.

—The Republicans refused to recharter the National Bank.

1812—Congress declared war against England.

—Detroit surrendered to the British.

—James Madison reëlected as President.

1813—Admiral Perry's victory on Lake Erie, Sept. 10th.

1814—The British captured Washington, D. C., and burned the Capitol and the White House.

—Francis Scott Key wrote *The Star-Spangled Banner*, during an unsuccessful English attack on Ft. McHenry guarding Baltimore.

—The Hartford Convention, to protest against the War of 1812.

—Peace treaty with England signed at Ghent on December 24th.

1815—Andrew Jackson, American, defeated English General Pakenham at battle of New Orleans, Jan. 8th. Word of the peace had not reached them. Jackson was aided by the pirate Lafitte.

1816—James Monroe elected as the 5th President. His terms called "The Era of Good Feeling."

—The 1816 tariff bill doubled the rates of the 1812 tariff, to encourage infant industries.

—The 2nd National Bank chartered.

1817—Andrew Jackson wrested Florida from Spain.

1818—Connecticut eliminated the religious qualification for holding office.

1819—Religious toleration laws enacted in New Hampshire.

—The *Savannah* was the first steamboat to cross the Atlantic, requiring 30 days to cross from Savannah to Liverpool.

—Florida ceded to the United States.

1820—Monroe reelected as President.

—Congress passed Henry Clay's Missouri Compromise bill, allowing slavery in Missouri, but not elsewhere west of the Mississippi River north of 36 degrees 30 minutes latitude.

1822—President Monroe recognized the South American republics which had freed themselves from Spain, under the leadership of Bolivar and San Martin.

1823—The Monroe Doctrine announced by President

Monroe, warning the Holy Alliance (Russia, Austria and Prussia) and other European nations to keep hands off American affairs.

1824—Lafayette visited America, touring each of the 24 states.

—John Quincy Adams elected as the 6th President, defeating the leading candidate, Andrew Jackson, and the other sectional "Favorite Sons."

—An increased tariff bill passed.

1825—The Erie Canal opened.

—Panama Congress held, the United States delegates arriving too late to take part—and one of them having died before the Congress met.

1828—Andrew Jackson elected as the 7th President.

—The Tariff of Abominations passed.

—First passenger railroad train in the United States, the horse-drawn Baltimore and Ohio, opened to traffic.

—Vice-President John C. Calhoun presented his *Exposition and Protest* against the tariff bill to the legislature of South Carolina.

1829—The Hayne-Webster debate in the Senate.

1830—The Mormon Church organized by Joseph Smith at Fayette, Seneca County, N. Y.

1831—Nat Turner's slave insurrection in Virginia.

—First steam-drawn train in the United States, Schenectady to Albany.

—First national nominating convention.

—William Lloyd Garrison established *The Liberator*.

1832—The 1832 tariff passed, with rates not lowered.

—South Carolina passed its Nullification Act of the tariffs of 1828 and 1832.

—Jackson reelected as President.

—Jackson vetoed the bill rechartering the National Bank.

1833—Compromise tariff bill of 1833 passed.

1833—South Carolina accepted this.

—Secretary of the Treasury Roger B. Taney of Maryland withdrew the government's deposits from the National Bank, appointed for the purpose after successive secretaries McLane and Duane had refused to do so.

1834—McCormick reaper invented.

1835—Taney named Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, succeeding John Marshall.

1836—Massacre of the garrison at the Alamo, San Antonio, Texas, by Mexicans, 180 being killed, including Davy Crockett and James Bowie.

Martin Van Buren elected as the 8th President.

—"Gag resolutions" passed in Congress, forbidding petitions against slavery to be read.

1838—Business panic.

1840—William Henry Harrison, Whig, elected as the 9th President.

1841—On the death of Harrison a month after his inauguration, Vice-President Tyler, a Virginia Democrat, became the 10th President.

—President Tyler vetoed the Whig bill rechartering the National Bank, and his Whig cabinet resigned, except Webster, Secretary of State.

1842—On completing the Webster-Ashburton treaty with England, Secretary of State Webster resigned.

1843—England refused our offer to make the line of 49 degrees north the boundary between the United States and Canada, in the Oregon region.

1844—1st telegraph line in the United States, Washington to Baltimore.

—James Polk, Democrat, elected as the 11th President.

1845—United States Naval Academy at Annapolis opened.

—The United States admits the Republic of Texas to statehood.

1846—War between the United States and Mexico.

1847—Mexico City captured.

1848—The treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo closed the Mexican War.

—Zachary Taylor, Whig, elected as the 12th President.

—Gold discovered in California, and the gold rush began.

1849—Riots in Astor Place, New York City, against the English actor Macready, in favor of the American actor Edwin Forrest, cost 34 lives.

1850—Clay's Omnibus Bill, the Compromise of 1850, enacted into law. Webster's support of it caused him to be execrated by the anti-slavery group.

✓ —On the death of President Taylor, Vice-President Millard Fillmore became the 13th President.

1852—Franklin Pierce, Democrat, elected the 14th President.

—Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* published.

1853—World's Fair at Crystal Palace, New York City.

—Commodore Perry opened up Japan to American trade.

1854—The Ostend Manifesto, by which three American ministers to Europe announced the intention of the United States to capture Cuba, if it could not be bought. This was disowned.

—The Kansas-Nebraska Act was passed.

1855—First Atlantic cable laid.

1856—James Buchanan, Democrat, elected as 15th President. The present Republican party, founded in 1854, had its first presidential candidate in this election.

—Pro-slavery men sacked Lawrence, Kansas. John Brown massacred 5 Pro-slavery men by Pottawatomie Creek.

1857—Chief-Justice Taney announced the Dred Scott decision declaring that a man could move his slave into any part of the United States, in spite of State laws forbidding it.

—War between Pro-slavery and Anti-slavery settlers in Kansas.

—Financial panic.

—In the Mountain Meadow Massacre, Indians led by Mormons killed 120 emigrants in Utah.

—Hinton Rowan Helper's *The Impending Crisis* published.

1858—Stephen A. Douglas defeated Abraham Lincoln for the Senatorship from Illinois.

1859—John Brown's raid on Harper's Ferry, Virginia. He captured the United States Arsenal, killing 5 men. He was tried, convicted, and hanged.

—First petroleum well opened in the United States, at Titusville, Pennsylvania.

1860—Abraham Lincoln, Republican, elected as 16th President.

—South Carolina seceded from the Union, December 20.

1861—The Confederate States of America established at Montgomery, Alabama, composed of the 7 leading cotton States. Jefferson Davis of Mississippi elected President.

—Fort Sumter, in Charleston Harbor, was fired on by Confederate troops, April 12th, and surrendered two days later.

—Battle of Bull Run, July 21st.

—Lincoln called for volunteers. North Carolina, Arkansas, Tennessee and Virginia joined the Confederacy, the capital being moved to Richmond, Virginia.

1862—The fight engagement of ironclad naval ships, the

Confederate *Merrimac* and the Union *Monitor*, resulted in a draw.

—Admiral Farragut captured New Orleans.

1863—President Lincoln announced his Emancipation Proclamation, January 1st. On November 19th, he delivered his Gettysburg Speech.

—Battle of Gettysburg, won by the Union army on Northern soil. Grant captured Vicksburg. Battles of Chickamauga and Lookout Mountain.

—Draft riots in New York City; 1,000 killed.

1864—Grant made Commander-in-Chief of the Union armies. Sherman's march to the sea.

—Lincoln reelected as President.

1865—General Robert E. Lee, Confederate Commander-in-Chief, surrendered to Grant at Appomattox, April 9th.

—President Lincoln was assassinated on Good Friday, April 14th, at Ford's Theatre, Washington, by the actor John Wilkes Booth. Vice-President Andrew Johnson became the 17th President.

—Slavery was abolished in the United States, by the adoption of the 13th amendment to the Constitution.

1866—The Ku Klux Klan movement commenced in the South, as an answer to Congressional Reconstruction.

1867—Alaska was purchased from Russia.

1868—President Johnson was impeached, tried and acquitted.

—General Ulysses S. Grant was elected as the 18th President.

1869—"Black Friday" on Wall Street, New York City, caused by a corner in gold, September 24th.

1871—The Great Fire in Chicago; 18,000 buildings destroyed, property loss of \$196,000,000.

1872—President Grant reelected.

1873—Financial panic.

1874—"Boss" W. M. Tweed convicted of fraud and sentenced to 12 years in prison.

1876—Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia.

—Custer's Last Stand against the Sioux Indians, at Little Big Horn, Montana, with death of General Custer and 276 cavalymen.

—Disputed election of 1876. Governor Samuel J. Tilden, Democrat, won the popular majority. The 19 disputed Electoral College votes were awarded by an Electoral Commission of 8 Republicans and 7 Democrats to Rutherford B. Hayes, Republican, whereupon he was declared elected by 185 electoral votes to 184, as the 19th President.

—The Knights of Labor reached a membership of 150,000.

1877—11 Molly Maguires, Pennsylvania mining labor agitators, hanged.

1880—James A. Garfield, Republican, elected as the 20th President.

1881—President Garfield was shot on July 2nd by a Stalwart Republican fanatic. Chester A. Arthur, the Vice-President, thereupon became the 21st President.

1882—Work on the Panama Canal begun by the French.

1884—Grover Cleveland, Democrat, elected as the 22nd President.

1885—First electric street railway in the United States, at Baltimore.

1886—Haymarket anarchist riots in Chicago, connected with a strike in the McCormick Reaper Works. 7 Policemen killed by bomb. Several anarchists were executed for this, and one committed suicide in jail.

—Statue of Liberty, the gift of France, unveiled on Bedloe's Island in New York harbor.

1888—Benjamin Harrison, Republican, elected as the 23rd President.

1888—Great blizzard in New York City and the eastern United States, March 11–14th. Senator Roscoe Conkling of New York died from exposure.

1890—Ellis Island opened up in New York harbor to receive immigrants.

—Sioux War, the last war against the Indians.

—Sherman Anti-Trust laws passed.

—McKinley Tariff Act enacted.

1892—Homestead strike riots, near Pittsburgh; 10 killed.

—Cleveland defeated Harrison for the Presidency.

1893—World's Fair (Columbian Exposition) at Chicago.

—Severe financial panic.

1894—The Pullman strike. President Cleveland sent United States troops to keep the trains moving. Eugene V. Debs jailed.

—“General” Jacob S. Coxey led an army of 2,000 unemployed from the Middle West to Washington, D. C. He was finally arrested for walking on the grass, by Capital police.

1895—Bloody insurrection in Cuba against Spain.

1896—William B. McKinley, Republican, defeated William J. Bryan, Democrat, for the Presidency, and became 24th President.

—President Cleveland appointed the Venezuela Boundary Commission.

1897—The gold rush to the Klondike, Alaska, began.

1898—The battleship *Maine* was blown up in Havana harbor, with a loss of 260 men.

—Congress declared Cuba independent, April 19th, and declared war against Spain April 21st.

—Admiral Dewey destroyed Spanish fleet in Manila Bay, April 30th. Battles of San Juan and El Caney, July 1–3rd. Admiral Cervera's fleet destroyed in the Battle of Santiago de Cuba, July 3rd.

1898—Preliminaries for peace with Spain signed August 12th.

1899—The Treaty of Paris, ending the Spanish-American War, signed December 10th preceding, was ratified by the United States Senate Feb. 6th.

—Philippine-American War began February 4th.

1900—McKinley reëlected as President.

—Boxer Rebellions in China. The United States acted with the world powers in suppressing it.

1901—William Howard Taft became first civil governor of the Philippine Islands.

—The Supreme Court decided that the Constitution does not follow the flag, in the case of possessions.

—President McKinley assassinated at the Pan-American Exposition, in Buffalo, Sept. 6th. Theodore Roosevelt became the 25th President.

1902—General Leonard Wood, governor of Cuba, resigned in favor of an elected president, Estrada Palma.

—Great anthracite coal strike of 145,000 miners in Pennsylvania, settled by President Roosevelt.

1903—Revolution in Panama; the young republic set up was immediately recognized by the United States.

—First successful heavier-than-air flying machine flight, at Kitty Hawk, North Carolina, by the brothers Wilbur and Orville Wright.

1904—The United States occupied the Panama Canal Zone, and began digging the Panama Canal.

—Construction of the Panama Canal placed in the hands of Colonel George W. Goethals. The zone was made habitable by the sanitation work of Dr. William C. Gorgas.

—Theodore Roosevelt reëlected as President.

—The Russo-Japanese War settled at Portsmouth, N. H., at President Roosevelt's suggestion.

1906—Hepburn Rate Bill passed.

1906—San Francisco earthquake and fire; over 500 lives lost; property damage, \$400,000,000.

—Meat packing-houses investigated by the national government, inspired by Upton Sinclair's novel *The Jungle*.

—Pure Food and Drugs Act and Meat Inspection Act passed.

1907—Second Hague Peace Conference met, at the suggestion of President Roosevelt.

1908—William Howard Taft, Republican, elected as the 26th President.

1909—The Payne Tariff Bill passed.

1910—Ex-President Roosevelt returned from his triumphant world tour.

—The muck-raking era in American magazines.

—In the Congressional by-election, the Democrats carried the House of Representatives.

1911—The Progressive movement organized by Senator La Follette, to capture the Republican nomination.

—The United States Supreme Court ordered the Standard Oil Company and the American Tobacco Company to dissolve.

1912—Woodrow Wilson, Democrat, elected as the 27th President, over Taft, Republican candidate, and Theodore Roosevelt, Progressive candidate.

—The steamship *Titanic* was wrecked on her maiden trip from Liverpool toward New York, by an iceberg off the coast of Newfoundland. 1517 lives were lost.

—Embargo on war munitions into Mexico.

1913—The Underwood Tariff Bill enacted, reducing the Wilson-Gorman Tariff Act rates from 39.4 to about 26%.

—The Federal Reserve Act (the Glass-Owen Act) was enacted into law.

1913—The Clayton Anti-Trust Act, which strengthened the 1890 Sherman Anti-Trust Act, was passed.

1914—Exemption of American vessels from Panama Canal tolls was repealed. The canal was opened in August.

—Admiral Fletcher seized Vera Cruz, and held it until Huerta withdrew.

—The World War broke out. Austria declared war on Serbia on July 28th; the other nations speedily were drawn into the conflict.

—President Wilson announced our neutrality on August 4th.

—American Marines seized Haiti, December 13th.

1915—After Germany announced her submarine war zone around the British Isles, Wilson issued his "strict accountability" note to Germany.

—The *Lusitania* sunk by a submarine, with a loss of 1,200 lives, of whom 114 were Americans, on May 7th.

1916—The *Sussex* sunk, with loss of more American lives. Wilson threatened to break off diplomatic relations with Germany if this continued.

—American Marines seized Santo Domingo. They also intervened in Nicaragua, and remained as a "legation guard."

—Woodrow Wilson reelected as President.

—Pancho Villa raided Columbus, New Mexico, March 9th. Pershing's punitive expedition was in Mexico from April 12th to Nov. 24th.

1917—Germany resumed unrestricted submarine warfare on February 1st. The United States entered the war on April 6th.

—June 26th, the first American soldiers in France.

—The 18th (Prohibition) amendment to the Constitution was submitted to the states. It was ratified by the necessary 26 states by January, 1919.

1918—President Wilson's 14 points of peace announced to Congress, Jan. 8th.

—Upon the collapse of the Central Powers, an armistice ending the World War was signed November 11th.

1919—The Versailles Peace Treaty, signed June 28th, formally terminated the war.

—Revolt in Haiti against American occupation; more than 1,800 Haitians killed by American marines.

1920—The 19th Amendment to the Constitution, giving equal suffrage to women, went into effect.

—Warren Gamaliel Harding, Republican, was elected as the 28th President.

1921—The United States signed separate peace agreements with Germany and Austria, after refusing to join the League of Nations.

—America's Unknown Soldier was buried at Arlington National Cemetery, Nov. 11th.

—Washington Conference against war.

1922—The Fordney-McCumber Tariff Act restored high tariff rates.

1923—On the death of President Harding on a trip to Alaska, Calvin Coolidge, Republican Vice-President, became the 29th President.

1924—Coolidge reelected as President.

—The Teapot Dome scandal.

—The Allies and Germany accepted the Dawes Reparation plan.

1925—United States marines withdrawn from Nicaragua.

1926—The League of Nations admitted Germany.

1927—The United States intervened in Nicaragua again, the marines remaining until 1933.

—The United States Supreme Court voided the Doheny oil leases; President Coolidge cancelled others connected with the Teapot Dome scandal.

- 1927—Charles A. Lindbergh flew solo from New York to Paris.
- 1928—Herbert Clark Hoover, Republican, elected as the 30th President.
- 1929—The Kellogg-Briand Anti-War Treaty, binding the world's 62 leading nations to renounce war as an instrument of national policy.
- Stock Market crash, followed by depression.
- 1930—The London Naval Reduction treaty signed.
- 1932—Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Democrat, elected as the 31st President.
- 1933—Bank holidays commenced Feb. 14th, paralyzing the nation's banking as Roosevelt was inaugurated. President Roosevelt took control promptly, his remedies being called the New Deal.
- Prohibition amendment to Constitution repealed.
- 1934—In Congressional by-elections, New Deal upheld.
- Damaging drought in Mid-West United States.
- 1935—The Boulder Dam formally opened.
- The United States Supreme Court ruled that vital parts of the New Deal were unconstitutional.
- 1936—Unemployment still a national problem.
- Reëlection of Franklin Delano Roosevelt.
- 1939—Second World War broke out in Europe.
- 1940—Roosevelt reëlected for third term as President.
- United States began gigantic defense program.
- 1941—Germany declares war against Russia.
- Lend Lease aid to Democracies.
 - Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor.
 - Germany and Italy declare war against the U. S.
- 1942—Gen. MacArthur's masterly defense of Bataan Peninsula, Luzon, Philippine Islands.
- Singapore falls; Corregidor surrenders.
 - United States Navy wins the battles of Coral Seas and Midway.

1942—American troops invade Guadalcanal. Allies invade North Africa.

1943—Russia breaks the siege of Stalingrad.

—The Allies invade Sicily and Italy.

1944—The Allies invade France. Paris is liberated.

—Russian drive for Berlin commences.

—Roosevelt re-elected for fourth term as President.

1945—The Philippines are liberated.

—On the death of Roosevelt, Vice-President Harry S Truman succeeds to the presidency.

—Unconditional surrender of Germany.

—Atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

—Unconditional surrender of Japan.

—United Nations launched.

1946—Bloody suppression of revolts in Palestine, India, and Java. Civil war in China.

—Strikes tie up reconversion in the United States.

—Mass starvation in much of Europe and the Far East is largely relieved by the UNRRA.

—Republicans win majorities in both Houses of Congress.

—Nuremberg trials of German war criminals end in the sentence to death by hanging of Goering, Hess, and most of the other defendants.

—UN decides on New York City as headquarters.

1947—O.P.A. price controls largely dropped.

—General George C. Marshall made Secretary of State.

—Menacing coal strike stopped by federal action; Supreme Court upholds conviction of John L. Lewis.

—Senate and House pass Greek-Turkish aid bill.

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

PREAMBLE

We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this CONSTITUTION for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I

Section 1—(Legislative power: in whom vested.)

All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

Section 2—(House of Representatives, how and by whom chosen. Qualifications of a Representative. Representatives and direct taxes, how apportioned. Enumeration. Vacancies to be filled. Power of choosing officers, and of impeachment.)

1. The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature.

2. No person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

3. Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all

other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each State shall have at least one Representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose 3; Massachusetts, 8; Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, 1; Connecticut, 5; New York, 6; New Jersey, 4; Pennsylvania, 8; Delaware, 1; Maryland, 6; Virginia, 10; North Carolina, 5; South Carolina, 5, and Georgia, 3.*

4. When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the Executive Authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

5. The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other officers, and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

Section 3—(Senators, how and by whom chosen. How classified. State Executive, when to make temporary appointments, in case, etc. Qualifications of a Senator. President of the Senate, his right to vote. President pro tem., and other officers of the Senate, how chosen. Power to try impeachments. When President is tried, Chief Justice to preside. Sentence.)

1. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote.

2. Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the Senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one-third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation or otherwise, during the recess of the Legislature of any State, the Executive thereof may make temporary appointment until the next meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

3. No person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States,

* See Article XIV, Amendments.

and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

4. The Vice-President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote unless they be equally divided.

5. The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a President pro tempore, in the absence of the Vice-President, or when he shall exercise the office of the President of the United States.

6. The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside; and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.

7. Judgment of cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust, or profit under the United States; but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment, according to law.

Section 4—(Times, etc., of holding elections, how prescribed.

One session in each year.)

1. The times, places and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to places of choosing Senators.

2. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

Section 5—(Membership, Quorum, Adjournments. Rules.

Power to punish or expel. Journal. Time of adjournments, how limited, etc.)

1. Each House shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members in such manner and under such penalties as each House may provide.

2. Each House may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and with the concurrence of two-thirds expel a member.

3. Each House shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either House on any question shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

4. Neither House, during the session of Congress shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

Section 6—(Compensation. Privileges. Disqualification in certain cases.)

1. The Senators and Representatives shall receive a compensation for their services to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall in all cases, except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same, and for any speech or debate in either House they shall not be questioned in any other place.

2. No Senator or Representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either House during his continuance in office.

Section 7—(House to originate all revenue bills. Veto. Bill may be passed by two-thirds of each House, notwithstanding, etc. Bill, not returned in ten days, to become a law. Provisions as to orders, concurrent resolutions, etc.)

1. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives, but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments, as on other bills.

2. Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate shall, before it becomes a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve, he shall sign it, but if not, he shall return it, with his objections, to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration two-thirds of that House shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent,

likewise be reconsidered; and if approved by two-thirds of that House it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both Houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each House respectively. If any bills shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return; in which case it shall not be a law.

3. Every order, resolution, or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States, and before the same shall take effect shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two-thirds of the Senate and the House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

Section 8—(Powers of Congress.)

1. The Congress shall have power:

To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States.

2. To borrow money on the credit of the United States.

3. To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States and with the Indian tribes.

4. To establish a uniform rule of naturalization and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States.

5. To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures.

6. To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States.

7. To establish post-offices and post-roads.

8. To promote the progress of science and useful arts by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive rights to their respective writings and discoveries.

9. To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court.

10. To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offenses against the law of nations.

11. To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water.

12. To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years.

13. To provide and maintain a navy.

14. To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces.

15. To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions.

16. To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress.

17. To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of Government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the Legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, drydocks, and other needful buildings.

18. To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

Section 9—Provisions as to migration or importation of certain persons. Habeas corpus. Bills of attainder, etc. Taxes, how apportioned. No export duty. No commercial preference. Money, how drawn from Treasury, etc. No titular nobility. Officers not to receive presents, etc.)

1. The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importations, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

2. The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

3. No bill of attainder or ex post facto law shall be passed.

4. No capitation or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration hereinbefore directed to be taken.

5. No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State.

6. No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another, nor shall vessels bound to or from one State be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties to another.

7. No money shall be drawn from the Treasury but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

8. No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States. And no person holding any office of profit or trust under them shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title of any kind whatever from any king, prince, or foreign state.

Section 10—(States prohibited from the exercise of certain powers.)

1. No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation, grant letters of marque and reprisal, coin money, emit bills of credit, make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts, pass any bill of attainder, ex post facto law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

2. No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any impost or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws, and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the Treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

3. No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops or ships of war in time of peace, enter into agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent damage as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II

Section 1—(President; his term of office. Electors of President; number and how appointed. Electors to vote on same day. Qualification of President. On whom his duties devolve in case of his removal, death, etc. President's compensation. His oath of office.)

1. The Executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with the Vice-President, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows:

2. Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress; but no Senator or Representative or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States shall be appointed an elector.

3. The electors shall meet in their respective States and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each, which list they shall sign and certify and transmit, sealed, to the seat of the Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed, and if there be more than one who have such a majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for President; and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list the said House shall in like manner choose the President. But in choosing the President, the vote shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote. A quorum, for this purpose, shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of

the electors shall be the Vice-President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them by ballot the Vice-President.*

4. The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors and the day on which they shall give their votes, which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

5. No person except a natural born citizen, or a citizen of the United States, at the time of the adoption of the Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

6. In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly until the disability be removed or a President shall be elected.

7. The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

8. Before he enter on the execution of his office he shall take the following oath or affirmation:

"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States."

Section 2—(President to be Commander-in-Chief. He may require opinions of Cabinet Officers, etc., may pardon. Treaty-making power. Nomination of certain officers. When President may fill vacancies.)

1. The President shall be Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States

* This clause is superseded by Article XII, Amendments.

when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offenses against the United States except in cases of impeachment.

2. He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law; but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers as they think proper in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

3. The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate by granting commissions, which shall expire at the end of their next session.

Section 3—(President shall communicate to Congress. He may convene and adjourn Congress, in case of disagreement, etc. Shall receive ambassadors, execute laws, and commission officers.)

He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

Section 4—(All civil offices forfeited for certain crimes.)

The President, Vice-President, and all civil officers of the United States shall be removed from office on impeachment for and conviction of treason, bribery or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III

Section 1—(Judicial powers. Tenure. Compensation.)

The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the Supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall at stated times receive for their services a compensation which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

Section 2—(Judicial power; to what cases it extends. Original jurisdiction of Supreme Court. Appellate. Trial by jury, etc. Trial, where.)

1. The judicial power shall extend to all cases in law and equity arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more States, between a State and citizens of another State, between citizens of different States, between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State or the citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizens, or subjects.

2. In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls, and those in which a State shall be party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction both as to law and fact, with such exceptions and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

3. The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury, and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

Section 3—(Treason defined. Proof of. Punishment of.)

1. Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the

testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

2. The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood or forfeiture except during the life of the person attained.

ARTICLE IV

Section 1—(Each State to give credit to the public acts, etc., of every other State.)

Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

Section 2—(Privileges of citizens of each State. Fugitives from justice to be delivered up. Persons held to service having escaped, to be delivered up.)

1. The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

2. A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall, on demand of the Executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

3. No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another shall in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

Section 3—(Admission of new States. Power of Congress over territory and other property.)

1. New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new States shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State, nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned, as well as of the Congress.

2. The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property

belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

Section 4—(Republican form of government guaranteed.

Each State to be protected.)

The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a Republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion, and on application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V

(Constitution; how amended. Proviso.)

The Congress, whenever two-thirds or both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments which in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress, provided that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the Ninth Section of the First Article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI

(Certain debts, etc., declared valid. Supremacy of Constitution, treaties, and laws of the United States. Oath to support Constitution, by whom taken. No religious test.)

1. All debts contracted and engagements entered into before the adoption of this Constitution shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution as under the Confederation.

2. This Constitution and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land, and the judges in every State shall be bound

thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

3. The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State Legislatures, and all Executives and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII

(What ratification shall establish Constitution.)

The ratification of the Conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

Done in convention by the unanimous consent of the States present, the 17th day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and of the independence of the United States of America the twelfth.

AMENDMENTS

ARTICLE I

Religious Establishment Prohibited. Freedom of Speech, of the Press, and Right to Petition.

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

ARTICLE II

Right to Keep and Bear Arms.

A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

ARTICLE III

No Soldier to be Quartered in Any House, Unless, etc.

No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house with-

out the consent of the owner, nor in time of war but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ARTICLE IV

Right of Search and Seizure Regulated.

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

ARTICLE V

*Provisions Concerning Prosecution, Trial and Punishment.—
Private Property Not to be Taken for Public Use Without
Compensation.*

No person shall be held to answer for a capital or other infamous crime unless on a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service, in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

ARTICLE VI

Right to Speedy Trial, Witnesses, etc.

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which districts shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense.

ARTICLE VII

Right of Trial by Jury.

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall

exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States than according to the rules of the common law.

ARTICLE VIII

Excessive Bail or Fines and Cruel Punishment Prohibited.

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

ARTICLE IX

Rule of Construction of Constitution.

The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ARTICLE X

Rights of States Under Constitution.

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

ARTICLE XI

Judicial Powers Construed.

The following amendment was proposed to the Legislatures of the several States by the Third Congress on the 4th of March, 1794, and was declared to have been ratified in a message from the President to Congress, dated Jan. 8, 1798.

The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States, by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign state.

ARTICLE XII

Manner of Choosing President and Vice-President.

The following amendment was proposed to the Legislatures of the several States by the Eighth Congress on the 12th of December, 1803, and was declared to have been ratified in a proclamation by the Secretary of State, dated September 25, 1804. It was ratified by 12 of 17 States, and was rejected by Connecticut.

The Electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the persons voted for as Vice-President; and they shall make distinct list of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit, sealed, to the seat of the Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate; the President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted; the person having the greatest number of votes for President shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest number, not exceeding three, on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President, whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President shall be the Vice-President if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

(The 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments to the Constitution are generally known as the Reconstruction Amendments. They were

adopted immediately following the Civil War and were intended to prevent Negro slavery in any form or under other names.)

ARTICLE XIII

Slavery Abolished.

The following amendment was proposed to the Legislatures of the several States by the Thirty-eighth Congress on the 1st of February, 1865, and was declared to have been ratified in a proclamation by the Secretary of State dated December 18, 1865. It finally was ratified by 33 of the 36 States, and was rejected by Delaware (Feb. 8, 1865) (ratified in Feb., 1901) and Mississippi.

President Lincoln signed the joint resolution of Congress proposing the 13th amendment, although such resolutions (proposing amendments) are not submitted to the President. The U. S. Supreme Court decided, in 1798, that the President has nothing to do with the proposing of amendments to the Constitution, or their adoption.

1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XIV

Citizenship Rights Not to be Abridged.

The following amendment was proposed to the Legislatures of the several States by the Thirty-ninth Congress on the 13th of June, 1866, and was declared to have been ratified in a proclamation by the Secretary of State, dated July 28, 1868. The amendment got the support of 23 Northern States; it was rejected by Delaware (Feb. 7, 1867) (ratified in Feb. 1901); Kentucky, Maryland, and 10 Southern States. California took no action. Subsequently it was ratified by the 10 Southern States.

The 14th amendment was adopted only by virtue of ratification subsequent to earlier rejections. Newly constituted legislatures in both North Carolina and South Carolina, respectively, on July 4 and 9, 1868, ratified the proposed amendment, although earlier legislatures had rejected the proposal. The Secretary of State issued a

proclamation which, though doubtful as to the effect of attempted withdrawals by New York and New Jersey, entertained no doubt as to the validity of the ratification by North and South Carolina. The following day, July 21, 1868, Congress passed a resolution which declared the 14th amendment to be a part of the Constitution and directed the Secretary of State so to promulgate it. The Secretary waited, however, until the newly constituted legislature of Georgia had ratified the amendment, subsequent to an earlier rejection, before the promulgation of the ratification of the new amendment.

1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States, nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Apportionment of Representatives in Congress.

2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers counting the whole number of persons in each State excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of Electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

*Power of Congress to Remove Disabilities of United States
Officials for Rebellion.*

3. No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or Elector of President and Vice-President or holding any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer

of the United States, or as a member of any State Legislature or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid and comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may, by a vote of two-thirds of each House, remove such disability.

What Public Debts Are Valid.

4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection and rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void.

5. The Congress shall have power to enforce by appropriate legislation the provisions of this article.

ARTICLE XV

Equal Rights for White and Colored Citizens.

The following amendment was proposed to the Legislatures of the several States by the Fortieth Congress on the 26th of February, 1869, and was declared to have been ratified in a proclamation by the Secretary of State, dated March 30, 1870. It was ratified by 31 of the 37 States, and was rejected by California, Delaware (March 18, 1869) (ratified in Feb., 1901) and Kentucky. New York rescinded its ratification Jan. 5, 1870. New Jersey rejected it in 1870, but ratified it in 1871.

1. The right of the citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

2. The Congress shall have power to enforce the provisions of this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XVI

Income Taxes Authorized.

The following amendment was proposed to the Legislatures of the

several States by the Sixty-first Congress on the 12th day of July, 1909, and was declared to have been ratified in a proclamation by the Secretary of State, dated February 25, 1913. The amendment was ratified by 42 of the 48 States, and was rejected by Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Utah.

The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever sources derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration.

ARTICLE XVII

United States Senators to be Elected by Direct Popular Vote.

The following amendment was proposed to the Legislatures of the several States by the Sixty-second Congress on the 16th day of May, 1912, and was declared to have been ratified in a proclamation by the Secretary of State, dated May 31, 1913. The amendment was adopted by 37 of the 48 States, but was rejected by Utah.

1. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, elected by the people thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote. The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislatures.

2. When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: Provided, That the Legislature of any State may empower the Executive thereof to make temporary appointment until the people fill the vacancies by election as the Legislature may direct.

3. This amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the election or term of any Senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the Constitution.

ARTICLE XVIII

Liquor Prohibition Amendment.

The following amendment was proposed to the Legislatures of the several States by the Sixty-fifth Congress, December 18, 1917: and on January 29, 1919, the United States Secretary of State proclaimed its adoption by 36 States, and declared it in effect on January 16, 1920.

The total vote in the Senates of the various States was, 1,310 for, 237 against—84.6% dry. In the lower houses of the States the vote was, 3,782 for, 1,035 against—78.5% dry.

The amendment ultimately was adopted by all the States except Connecticut and Rhode Island.

1. After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.

2. The Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the Legislatures of the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress.

ARTICLE XIX

Giving Nation-Wide Suffrage to Women.

The following amendment was proposed to the Legislatures of the several States by the Sixty-fifth Congress having been adopted by the House of Representatives, May 21, 1919, and by the Senate, June 4, 1919. On August 26, 1920, the United States Secretary of State proclaimed it in effect, having been adopted (June 10, 1919—August 18, 1920) by three-quarters of the States. In West Virginia, despite Senate rules of procedure which forbade reconsideration of a measure during the session in which it was defeated, the Senate ratified the proposed 19th amendment, subsequent to a rejection in the same session. The amendment was rejected by Alabama, Maryland, and Virginia.

1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article.

ARTICLE XX

*Terms of President and Vice-President to begin on Jan. 20;
those of Senators and Representatives, on Jan. 3.*

The following amendment was proposed to the Legislatures of the several States by the Seventy-second Congress, in March, 1932, a joint resolution to that effect having been adopted, first by the House, and then, on March 2, by the Senate. On Feb. 6, 1933, the Secretary of State proclaimed it in effect, 39 of the 48 States having ratified. By Oct. 15, 1933, it had been ratified by all of the 48 States.

Section 1. The terms of the President and Vice-President shall end at noon on the 20th day of January, and the terms of Senators and Representatives at noon on the 3rd day of January, of the years in which such terms would have ended if this article had not been ratified; and the terms of their successors shall then begin.

Section 2. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall begin at noon on the 3rd day of January, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

Section 3. If, at the time fixed for the beginning of the term of the President, the President elect shall have died, the Vice-President elect shall become President. If a President shall not have been chosen before the time fixed for the beginning of his term, or if the President elect shall have failed to qualify, then the Vice-President elect shall act as President until a President shall have qualified; and the Congress may by law provide for the case wherein neither a President elect nor a Vice-President elect shall have qualified, declaring who shall then act as President, or the manner in which one who is to act shall be selected, and such person shall act accordingly until a President or Vice-President shall have qualified.

Section 4. The Congress may by law provide for the case of the death of any of the persons from whom the House of Representatives may choose a President whenever the right of choice shall have devolved upon them, and for the case of the death of any of the persons from whom the Senate may choose a Vice-President whenever the right of choice shall have devolved upon them.

Section 5. Sections 1 and 2 shall take effect on the 15th day of October following the ratification of this article (Oct., 1933).

Section 6. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission.

ARTICLE XXI

Repeal of the Eighteenth (Prohibition) Amendment by Conventions in the States.

The following proposed amendment to the Constitution, embodied in a joint resolution of the Seventy-second Congress (Senate, Feb. 16, 1933, by 63 to 23; House, Feb. 20, 1933, by 289 to 121), was transmitted to the Secretary of State on Feb. 21 and he at once sent to the Governors of the States copies of the resolution. The amendment went into effect Dec. 5, 1933, having been adopted by 36 of the 48 States—three-quarters of the entire number. The amendment is:

Section 1. The eighteenth article of amendment to the Constitution of the United States is hereby repealed.

Section 2. The transportation or importation into any State, Territory, or Possession of the United States for delivery or use therein of intoxicating liquors, in violation of the laws thereof, is hereby prohibited.

Section 3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by conventions in the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

(Unanimously Adopted July 4, 1776.)

When in the Course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shewn, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former Systems of Government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an

absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his Governors to pass Laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his Assent should be obtained, and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other Laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of Representation in the Legislature, a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public Records for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the Legislative powers, incapable of Annihilation, have returned to the People at large for their exercise; the State remaining in the meantime exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the Laws for Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither, and raising the conditions of new Appropriations of Lands.

He has obstructed the Administration of Justice, by refusing his Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary powers.

He has made Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of New Offices, and sent hither swarms of Officers to harass our people and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, Standing Armies, without the Consent of our Legislatures.

He has affected to render the Military independent of and superior to the Civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his Assent to their Acts of pretended Legislation: For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us: For protecting them by a mock Trial from punishment for any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these States: For cutting off our Trade with all parts of the world: For imposing Taxes on us without our Consent: For depriving us in many cases of the benefits of Trial by Jury: For transporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended offenses: For abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighbouring Province, establishing therein an Arbitrary government, and enlarging its Boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these Colonies: For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governments: For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated Government here by declaring us out of his Protection and waging War against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our Coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large Armies of foreign Mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow Citizens taken Captive on the high Seas to bear Arms against their Country, to become the executioners or their friends and Brethren, or to fall themselves by their Hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions. In every stage of these Oppressions We have Petitioned for Redress in the most humble terms. Our repeated Petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A Prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which

may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people. Nor have We been wanting in attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our Separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace Friends.

WE, THEREFORE, the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress, Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the Name, and by authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be Free and Independent States; that they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as Free and Independent States, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which Independent States may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes, and our sacred Honor.

SIGNERS OF DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

NAME	DELEGATE	OCCUPATION
Adams, John (1735-1826)	Mass.	Lawyer
Adams, Samuel (1722-1803)	Mass.	Merchant
Bartlett, Josiah (1729-1795)	N. H.	Judge
Braxton, Carter (1736-1797)	Va.	Planter
Carroll, Charles (1737-1832)	Md.	Lawyer
Chase, Samuel (1741-1811)	Md.	Lawyer
Clark, Abraham (1726-1794)	N. J.	Lawyer
Clymer, George (1739-1813)	Pa.	Merchant
Ellery, William (1727-1820)	R. I.	Lawyer
Floyd, William (1734-1821)	N. Y.	Farmer
Franklin, Benjamin (1706-1790)	Pa.	Printer

THE MONROE DOCTRINE

The pertinent parts of the Doctrine as announced by President Monroe in his message to Congress (December 2, 1823), are these:

. . . "the occasion has been judged proper for asserting, as a principle in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved, that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers.

. . . "It is only when our rights are invaded or seriously menaced that we resent injuries or make preparation for our defense. With the movements in this hemisphere we are of necessity more immediately connected, and by causes which must be obvious to all enlightened and impartial observers. The political system of the allied powers is essentially different in this respect from that of America. This difference proceeds from that which exists in their respective Governments; and to the defense of our own, which has been achieved by the loss of so much blood and treasure, and matured by the wisdom of their most enlightened citizens, and under which we have enjoyed unexampled felicity, this whole nation is devoted.

"We owe it, therefore, to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere.

"But with the Governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European power in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States.

"It is still the true policy of the United States to leave the parties to themselves, in the hope that other powers will pursue the same course."

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